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THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA

BACKGROUND

The downfall of President Siad Barre in January 1991 resulted in a power struggle and clan clashes in many parts of Somalia. In November, the most intense fighting since January broke out in the capital, Mogadishu, between two factions — one supporting Interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed and the other supporting the Chairman of the United Somali Congress, General Mohamed Farah Aidid. Since then, fighting persisted in Mogadishu and spread throughout Somalia, with heavily armed elements controlling various parts of the country. Some declared alliance with one or the other of the two factions, while others did not. Numerous marauding groups of bandits added to the problem.

The hostilities resulted in widespread death and destruction, forcing hundreds of thousands of civilians to flee their homes and causing a dire need for emergency humanitarian assistance. Almost 4.5 million people in Somalia — over half of the estimated population — were threatened by severe malnutrition and malnutrition-related disease, with the most affected living in the countryside. It was estimated that perhaps 300,000 people died since November 1991, and at least 1.5 million lives were at immediate risk. Almost one million Somalis sought refuge in neighbouring countries and elsewhere.

The political chaos, deteriorating security situation, widespread banditry and looting, and extent of physical destruction compounded the problem and severely constrained the delivery of humanitarian supplies. Furthermore, the conflict threatened stability in the Horn of Africa region, and its continuation occasioned threats to international peace and security in the area.

EARLY UNITED NATIONS EFFORTS

Despite the turmoil that ensued after the overthrow of President Siad Barre, the United Nations continued its humanitarian efforts in Somalia and, by March 1991, was fully engaged in that country. Over the following months, the volatile security situation forced the United Nations on several occasions to temporarily withdraw its personnel from Somalia, but it continued its humanitarian activities to the fullest extent possible, in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The deteriorating and appalling situation in Somalia led the United Nations Secretary-General, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States (LAS) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), to become actively involved with the political aspects of the crisis and to press for a peaceful solution to the conflict.

On 27 December 1991, then Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar informed the President of the Security Council that he intended to take an initiative in an attempt to restore peace in Somalia. Accordingly, after consulting incoming Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, he asked then Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs James O.C. Jonah to visit the area.

In early January 1992, despite continued fighting in Mogadishu, Mr. Jonah led a team of senior United Nations officials into Somalia for talks aimed at bringing about a cessation of hostilities and securing access by the international relief community to civilians caught in the conflict. During that visit, support for a cease-fire in Mogadishu was expressed by all faction leaders, except General Aidid. Unanimous support was expressed, however, for a United Nations role in bringing about national reconciliation.

The results of the visit were reported to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who then consulted with the members of the Security Council on the appropriate course of action. On 23 January, by its resolution 733 (1992), the Security Council urged all parties to

the conflict to cease hostilities, and decided that all States should immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia. The Council requested the Secretary-General to increase humanitarian assistance to the affected population and to contact all parties involved in the conflict to seek their commitment to the cessation of hostilities, to promote a cease-fire and to assist in the process of a political settlement of the conflict.

On 31 January, the Secretary-General invited LAS, OAU and OIC, as well as Interim President Ali Mahdi and General Aidid, to send their representaiives to participate in consultations at United Nations Headquarters from 12 to 14 February. The talks succeeded in getting the two factions in Mogadishu to agree to an immediate cessation of hostilities and the maintenance of the cease-fire, and to a visit to Mogadishu by a joint high-level delegation composed of representatives of the United Nations and the three regional organizations to conclude a cease-fire agreement.

The joint delegation arrived in Mogadishu on 29 February 1992. On 3 March, after four days of intensive negotiations, Interim President Ali Mahdi and General Aidid signed an "Agreement on the Implementation of a Cease-fire". This Agreement also included the acceptance of a United Nations security component for convoys of humanitarian assistance, and the deployment of 20 military observers on each side of Mogadishu to monitor the cease-fire. At the same time, the joint delegation undertook consultations regarding a national reconciliation conference to which all Somali groups would be invited.

On 17 March, the Security Council adopted its resolution 746 (1992), supporting the Secretary-General's decision to dispatch to Somalia a technical team to prepare a plan for a cease-fire monitoring mechanism. The Council also requested that the team develop a high-priority plan to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The team visited Somalia from 23 March to 1 April. Following discussions with the team, Interim President Ali Mahdi and General Aidid signed on 28 and 27 March 1992, respectively, Letters of Agreement on the mechanisms for monitoring the cease-fire and on arrangements for equitable and effective distribution of humanitarian assistance.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNOSOM

On 24 April 1992, in response to a recommendation of the Secretary-General, the Security Council adopted resolution 751 (1992), by which it decided to establish a United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM). The Council also asked the Secretary-General, in cooperation with LAS, OAU and OIC, to pursue consultations with all Somali parties towards convening a conference on national reconciliation and unity. It also called on the international community for financial and other support for the Secretary-General's 90-day Plan of Action for Emergency Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia.

The Council welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to appoint a Special Representative for Somalia to provide overall direction of United Nations activities in that country. Mr. Mohammed Sahnoun of Algeria was appointed Special Representative on 28 April 1992 and left for the area on 1 May.

ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS

In accordance with the agreements reached with the two main Somali factions in Mogadishu, the cease-fire in the capital was to be monitored by a group of 50 unarmed uniformed United Nations military observers. As regards humanitarian assistance, the security personnel envisaged in the agreements were to provide protection and security for United Nations personnel, equipment and supplies at the seaports and airports in Mogadishu and escort deliveries of humanitarian supplies from there to distribution centres in the city and its immediate environs.

In its resolution 751 (1992), the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to deploy immediately

50 observers to monitor the cease-fire in Mogadishu. It also agreed, in principle, to establish a security force to be deployed as soon as possible, and requested the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the parties in Mogadishu in this regard.

On 23 June, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that both principal factions in Mogadishu had agreed to the immediate deployment of the unarmed observers. The observers would be drawn from Austria, Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco and Zimbabwe. The Chief Military Observer, Brigadier-General Imtiaz Shaheen of Pakistan, and the advance party of UNOSOM observers arrived in Mogadishu in early July 1992. On 12 August, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that, after considerable delays and difficulties, agreement had been reached with the principal faction leaders in Mogadishu to deploy 500 United Nations security personnel in the capital as part of UNOSOM. The Government of Pakistan had agreed to contribute a unit for the purpose. The first group of security personnel arrived in Mogadishu on 14 September 1992.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Between 4 May and 19 July 1992, the Secretary-General's Special Representative undertook extensive consultations with various Somali leaders and Elders and other personalities throughout the country. On 22 July, the Secretary-General reported to the Council on the complex political and security situation in Somalia, as well as the desperate situation the country faced in terms of needs for humanitarian assistance, recovery programmes and institution-building. The Secretary-General concluded that the United Nations must "adapt" its involvement in Somalia and that its efforts needed to be enlarged in order to bring about an effective cease-fire throughout the country, while at the same time promoting national reconciliation.

On 27 July, the Security Council approved the Secretary-General's report and urged all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to facilitate United Nations efforts to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population. The Council strongly supported the Secretary-General's decision to dispatch another technical team to Somalia.

ENLARGEMENT OF UNOSOM

Following the technical team's visit to Somalia from 6 to 15 August 1992, the Secretary-General submitted his further report, dated 24 August, to the Security Council, in which he described a number of urgent steps, being planned or already taken, to mitigate the widespread starvation in the areas of Somalia most seriously affected by the civil war and drought and to prevent the incidence of hunger escalating in other parts of the country. Noting that the United Nations and its partners were ready and had the capacity to provide substantially increased assistance, the Secretary-General stated that they were prevented from doing so by the lawlessness and lack of security prevailing throughout Somalia. Looting, by heavily armed gangs, of supplies from delivery and distribution points, as well as attacks on incoming and docked ships and on airports and airstrips, prevented the assured delivery of humanitarian assistance by overland transport.

Given the difficulties, the Secretary-General concluded that the airlift operations — already being carried out by the World Food Programme (WFP) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), as well as by ICRC — needed to be enhanced substantially, with priority given to central and southern Somalia. In addition, a "preventive zone" on the Kenya-Somali border should be established for special deliveries of food and seed, in an attempt to reduce famine-induced population movements.

The Secretary-General recommended the deployment of four additional United Nations security units, each with a strength of up to 750, to protect the humanitarian convoys and distribution centres throughout Somalia. Also, in accordance with his earlier proposal, the Secretary-General recommended the es-

tablishment of four zone headquarters of UNOSOM. Each would be headed by a civilian official who would assist the Secretary-General's Special Representative in all aspects of his duties.

On 28 August, the Security Council, by its resolution 775 (1992), approved the Secretary-General's report and authorized the increase in strength of UNOSOM. The Council requested the Secretary-General to continue, in close cooperation with LAS, OAU and OIC, his efforts to seek a comprehensive solution to the crisis in Somalia.

On 8 September, the Security Council also approved the Secretary-General's plan to deploy three logistic units totalling up to 719 personnel to support the enhanced UNOSOM operation. Consequently, the total strength of UNOSOM was to be 4,219 all ranks, including the unit of 500 authorized in Mogadishu and 719 for logistic units.

100-DAY ACTION PROGRAMME

There have been six main United Nations organizations at work in Somalia coordinating overall humanitarian efforts: the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UNICEF, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), WFP and the World Health Organization (WHO). In addition, more than 30 NGOs were working in Somalia as "implementing partners" of the United Nations. Moreover, ICRC has continued to provide assistance under the most difficult of situations. There are also many local NGOs that work with the United Nations and the international NGOs.

Between 10 and 12 September 1992, as part of the overall effort to accelerate humanitarian relief activities, the then United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. Jan Eliasson, led a high-level inter-agency mission to Somalia. A major outcome of the mission was the decision to develop a 100-Day Action Programme for Accelerated Humanitarian Assistance, for the period until the end of 1992. The 100-Day Programme was reviewed at the First Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia, held in Geneva on 12 and 13 October 1992 under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Somalia.

The Programme sought to highlight priority actions which were needed to prevent famine and the unacceptably high levels of death and deprivation in Somalia. The emphasis was placed on those areas and populations of the country needing priority attention. The Programme also identified the additional resources required to meet its eight main objectives: massive infusion of food aid; aggressive expansion of supplementary feeding; provision of basic health services and mass measles immunization campaign; urgent provision of clean water, sanitation and hygiene; provision of shelter materials, including blankets and clothes; simultaneous delivery of seeds, tools and animal vaccines with food rations; prevention of further refugee outflows and promoting returnee programmes; building institutions and civil society rehabilitation and recovery. Donor response to the Programme was generally prompt and generous. Of the $82.7 million requested for the implementation of the Programme, $67.3 million was received.

From 3 to 5 December 1992, the Secretary-General convened the Second Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia, at the Conference Centre of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Meeting was attended by representatives of donor countries and other Governments, Somali political and community leaders, and Somali NGOs, as well as regional and subregional organizations, United Nations agencies and international NGOs. The Meeting provided an opportunity to review the progress achieved in the implementation of the 100-Day Action Programme, the obstacles encountered and the work that remained to be done. The discussion also went beyond the scope of the Action Programme to address further relief activ-

ities, as well as the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Somalia. One of the conclusions of the meeting was that the 100-Day Programme should be followed by a new plan for 1993. Subsequently, it was decided that a United Nations Conference on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia would be held in Addis Ababa in March 1993 to review the Relief and Rehabilitation Programme for 1993 and receive pledges from donors.

SITUATION DETERIORATES

In October and November 1992, despite all efforts by the international community, the United Nations Secretary-General and his new Special Representative for Somalia, Mr. Ismat Kittani,[1/] the situation in Somalia continued to deteriorate. Somalia remained without a central government with which to negotiate. Mogadishu was divided by rival militias. Throughout the country, a dozen or more factions — some torn by internal divisions — were active. The resulting political chaos and the extensive physical destruction severely constrained the delivery of humanitarian supplies. Widespread looting of aid supplies, robbery, armed banditry and general lawlessness compounded the situation.

Several of the Somali de facto authorities refused to agree to the deployment of United Nations troops to secure delivery of aid in areas of greatest need. UNOSOM troops in Mogadishu were fired upon and their vehicles and arms taken. Relief ships were prevented from docking, threatened and even shelled. Airports and seaports came under fire. Large sums of cash and relief aid were being extorted from donor agencies and organizations, and the lives of their personnel attempting to distribute supplies to starving people were being put in danger.

The net result was that, while relief supplies were ready and in the pipeline, only a trickle was reaching those in need. According to some estimates, as many as 3,000 persons a day were dying of starvation in Somalia, while warehouses remained stocked. Unless the problems relating to security and protection of relief supplies were resolved, it was believed that United Nations agencies and NGOs would be unable to provide the assistance in the amounts and on the urgent basis needed.

OPTIONS SUGGESTED

In a letter to the Security Council on 24 November 1992, the Secretary-General reported on the deteriorating situation in Somalia, with particular reference to the factors preventing UNOSOM from implementing its mandate. The Secretary-General stated that he did not exclude the possibility that it might become necessary to review the basic premises and principles of the United Nations effort there. He cited the lack of government in Somalia, the failure of various factions to cooperate with UNOSOM, the extortion, blackmail and robbery to which the international relief effort was subjected and the repeated attacks on the personnel and equipment of the United Nations and other relief agencies.

The members of the Council discussed the Secretary-General's letter during informal consultations on 25 November. They expressed the view that the situation in Somalia was intolerable and asked the Secretary-General to present specific recommendations on how the United Nations could remedy the situation.

In response, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a further letter, dated 29 November, in which he outlined, for the Council's consideration, five options for creating conditions for the uninterrupted delivery of supplies to the starving people of Somalia. The Secretary-General also informed the Council of a visit he received on 25 November from Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger, then Acting Secretary of State of the United States, who indicated that, should the Security Council decide to authorize Member States to ensure the delivery of relief supplies, the United States would be ready to take the lead in organizing and commanding such an operation, in which a number of other Member States would also participate.

According to the Secretary-General's letter, the first option would be to continue and intensify efforts to deploy UNOSOM in accordance with its existing mandate. The second option suggested that the idea of using international military personnel to protect relief activities be abandoned, and that humanitarian agencies make the best arrangements they could with the various faction and clan leaders. However, the Secretary-General considered neither of these two options to be an adequate response to the crisis.

As to the other three options, the Secretary-General stated that their purpose would be to ensure, on a lasting basis, that the current violence against the international relief effort was brought to an end.

The first of those three options would be for UNOSOM troops to undertake a show of force in Mogadishu in an attempt to discourage those abusing the relief efforts. However, the Secretary-General contended that a countrywide operation would be required to have the desired deterrent effect.

The next option would entail a countrywide action by a group of Member States authorized to do so by the Security Council. The Secretary-General mentioned in this connection the offer by the United States to organize and lead such an operation. In such a case, the Secretary-General would advise the Council and those Members taking part in the operation that they find a way to recognize the Security Council's legitimate interest in the manner in which it was carried out.

The remaining option was also for a countrywide enforcement action, but one carried out under United Nations command and control. This would be consistent, the Secretary-General stated, with the recent enlargement of the Organization's role in the maintenance of international peace and security, and would strengthen its long-term evolution as an effective system of collective security. However, the United Nations Secretariat did not currently have the capability to command and control an enforcement operation of the size required. He concluded that there was no alternative but to resort to the enforcement provisions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The Secretary-General stressed that whether an action was taken under United Nations command, or by Member States with Security Council authorization, it should be precisely defined and limited in time, "in order to prepare the way for a return to peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building".

COUNCIL AUTHORIZES USE OF FORCE

On 3 December, the Security Council adopted, unanimously, its resolution 794 (1992), authorizing the use of "all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia". Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council authorized the Secretary-General and the participating Member States to make arrangements for "the unified command and control" of the military forces that would be involved. It called on all Member States that were in a position to do so to provide military forces and to make contributions in cash or in kind, and requested the Secretary-General to establish a fund through which the contributions could be appropriately channelled to the States or operations concerned.

The Security Council requested the Secretary-General and Member States contributing troops to establish appropriate mechanisms for coordination between the United Nations and their military forces, and invited the Secretary-General to attach a small liaison staff of UNOSOM to the field headquarters of the unified command. Further, the Council requested the Secretary-General and the States concerned to report regularly to it on the progress in establishing a secure environment in Somalia. It requested the Secretary-General to submit a plan to ensure that UNOSOM would be able to fulfil its mandate upon the withdrawal of the unified command.

As to the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Somalia, the Security Council decided that the operations and the further deployment of the 3,500

personnel of UNOSOM, authorized by resolution 775 (1992) of 28 August, should proceed at the discretion of the Secretary-General in the light of his assessment of conditions on the ground.

UNIFIED TASK FORCE DEPLOYED

The first elements of the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), spearheaded by the United States, were deployed in Mogadishu on 9 December 1992. In the following weeks UNITAF forces[2/] expanded their operations to major relief centres in Somalia. UNITAF's principal goal was to establish in Somalia a secure environment for urgent humanitarian assistance. Once that was accomplished, the military command would then be turned over to the United Nations. In the meantime, UNOSOM remained fully responsible for the political aspects and for humanitarian assistance to Somalia. Good coordination on the ground and at United Nations Headquarters was established between UNITAF and the United Nations. UNOSOM remained in the capital, and continued to liaise with UNITAF and plan for the transition to normal peace-keeping functions.

On 19 December, the Secretary-General presented to the Security Council a report in which he described actions taken to implement resolution 794 (1992) and set out his thinking on a new mandate for UNOSOM and the transition from UNITAF to continued peace-keeping operations. The Secretary-General recommended that the Council defer its decision on such a transition until it became clear whether UNITAF had achieved its goal. He suggested that it should await the establishment of a cease-fire, the control of heavy weapons, the disarming of lawless gangs and the creation of a new police force.

In his further report to the Council, dated 26 January 1993, the Secretary-General congratulated UNITAF for rapidly and successfully securing major population centres and ensuring that humanitarian assistance was delivered and distributed without impediment. As to UNOSOM, he indicated that its major preoccupation at that juncture was the planning for the transition from the operations of UNITAF to UNOSOM II. The planning exercise, the Secretary-General pointed out, was proceeding smoothly in close cooperation and consultation with the Command of UNITAF.

PEACE AGREEMENTS

In the meantime, the Secretary-General convened an informal preparatory meeting at ECA headquarters in Addis Ababa from 4 to 15 January 1993, for a national reconciliation conference envisaged under United Nations auspices. A total of 14 Somali political movements took part in the meeting, along with the Secretaries-General of LAS, OAU and OIC and the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Countries of the Horn, as well as the representatives of the current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

The following three agreements were concluded and signed at the meeting: (a) General Agreement of 8 January 1993; (b) Agreement on implementing the cease-fire and on modalities of disarmament; and (c) Agreement on the establishment of an ad hoc committee to help resolve the criteria for participation at, and the agenda for, the conference on national reconciliation, as well as any other issues pending from the informal meeting. Among other things, the informal meeting agreed on the convening of a conference on national reconciliation in Addis Ababa on 15 March 1993. The Somali parties requested the United Nations, in consultation with the relevant regional and subregional organizations, to provide logistic support both prior to and during the conference.

TRANSITION TO UNOSOM II PROPOSED

On 3 March 1993, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report containing his recommendations for effecting the transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. He indicated that since the adoption of Council resolution 794 (1992) in December 1992, UNITAF had deployed approximately 37,000 troops in southern and central Somalia, covering approxi-

mately 40 per cent of the country's territory. The presence and operations of UNITAF had a positive impact on the security situation in Somalia and on the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance. He pointed out, however, that despite the improvement, a secure environment had not yet been established in Somalia and incidents of violence continued to occur. There was still no effective functioning government in the country, no organized civilian police force and no disciplined national armed force. The security threat to personnel of the United Nations and its agencies, UNITAF, ICRC and NGOs was still high in some areas of Mogadishu and other places in Somalia. Moreover, there was no deployment of UNITAF or UNOSOM troops to the north-east and north-west, or along the Kenyan-Somali border, where security continued to be a matter of grave concern.

The Secretary-General concluded, therefore, that, should the Security Council determine that the time had come for the transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II, the latter should be endowed with enforcement powers under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter so as to be able to establish a secure environment throughout Somalia. To that end, UNOSOM II, under the mandate recommended by the Secretary-General, would seek to complete, through disarmament and reconciliation, the task begun by UNITAF for the restoration of peace, stability, law and order. The mandate would also empower UNOSOM II to provide assistance to the Somali people in rebuilding their economy and social and political life, re-establishing the country's institutional structure, achieving national political reconciliation, recreating a Somali State based on democratic governance and rehabilitating the country's economy and infrastructure.

The mandate of UNOSOM II, covering the whole territory of Somalia, would include the following military tasks: (a) monitoring that all factions continued to respect the cessation of hostilities and other agreements to which they had consented; (b) preventing any resumption of violence and, if necessary, taking appropriate action against any faction that violated or threatened to violate the cessation of hostilities; (c) maintaining control of the heavy weapons of the organized factions which would have been brought under international control pending their eventual destruction or transfer to a newly constituted national army; (d) seizing the small arms of all unauthorized armed elements and assisting in the registration and security of such arms; (e) securing or maintaining security at all ports, airports and lines of communications required for the delivery of humanitarian assistance; (f) protecting the personnel, installations and equipment of the United Nations and its agencies, ICRC as well as NGOs, and taking such forceful action as might be required to neutralize armed elements that attacked, or threatened to attack, such facilities and personnel, pending the establishment of a new Somali police force which could assume this responsibility; (g) continuing the programme for mine-clearing in the most afflicted areas; (h) assisting in the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons within Somalia; (i) carrying out such other functions as might be authorized by the Security Council.

Concerning disarmament, the Secretary-General stated that on the basis of the Addis Ababa agreements, a planning committee composed of senior officers from both UNITAF and UNOSOM developed a "Somalia cease-fire disarmament concept". This concept would require the establishment of cantonment, for storage of heavy weapons, as well as transition sites for temporary accommodation of factional forces while they turned in their small arms, registered for future governmental and non-governmental support and received training for eventual reintegration into civilian life. Cantonment and transition sites would be separated from each other to prevent any possibility of factions or groups seizing the heavy weapons. Those failing to comply with timetables or other modalities of the disarmament process would have their weapons and equipment confiscated and/or destroyed.

According to the Secretary-General, UNOSOM II military operations would be conducted in four phases.

Phase I would concentrate on the transition of operational control from UNITAF. Military support to relief activities and the disarming of factions would continue throughout the transition. Phase II would be designed to consolidate United Nations operational control and would conclude when UNOSOM II was deployed and operating effectively throughout Somalia and the border regions. In phase III, major efforts would be made to reduce UNOSOM II's military activity and assist civil authorities in exercising greater responsibility. That phase would end when a Somali national police force became operational and major United Nations military operations were no longer required. Phase IV would concern redeployment or reduction of the UNOSOM II forces. The exact timing of transition from phase to phase would be determined to a large extent by political reconciliation efforts and rehabilitation programmes.

The deployment of UNOSOM II would be at the discretion of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Force Commander acting under the authority of the Security Council; the deployment would not be subject to the agreement of any local faction leaders.

The Secretary-General estimated that it would be necessary to deploy a military component of 20,000 all ranks to carry out the assigned tasks and an additional 8,000 personnel to provide the logistic support. In addition, the United States Government agreed in principle to provide a tactical quick reaction force in support of the Force Commander of UNOSOM II. UNOSOM II would also include civilian staff of approximately 2,800 individuals.

The Secretary-General suggested 1 May 1993 as the date of transfer of budgetary and administrative control from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. It was subsequently decided that the transfer of the military command would take place on 4 May.

On 5 March 1993, the Secretary-General appointed Admiral Jonathan T. Howe (Ret.) of the United States as his new Special Representative for Somalia for an initial period of three months, effective 9 March 1993. He was asked to oversee the transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II, in addition to continuing the tasks of "promoting political reconciliation, coordinating humanitarian assistance and paving the way for rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country". Earlier, the Secretary-General had appointed Lieutenant-General Çevik Bir of Turkey as Force Commander of UNOSOM II.[3/]

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTS

On 26 March, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, adopted resolution 814 (1993), by which it decided to expand the size and mandate of UNOSOM in accordance with the Secretary-General's recommendations. It authorized the mandate for the expanded UNOSOM for an initial period through 31 October 1993. The Council demanded that all Somali parties comply fully with the commitments they had undertaken, and in particular with the Agreement on Implementing the Cease-fire and on Modalities of Disarmament, and that they ensure the safety of the personnel of all organizations engaged in humanitarian and other assistance to Somalia. All States, in particular neighbouring ones, were called upon to cooperate in the implementation of the arms embargo established under resolution 733 (1992).

In other provisions of the resolution, the Council requested the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and with assistance from all relevant United Nations entities, offices and specialized agencies, to provide humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy and promoting political settlement and national reconciliation. Such assistance should include economic relief and rehabilitation of Somalia, the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons within Somalia, the re-establishment of national and regional institutions and civil administration in the entire country, the re-establishment of Somali police,

mine-clearance and public information activities in support of the United Nations activities in Somalia.

HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE

As noted above, the deployment of UNITAF forces improved the security situation and facilitated the flow of food and other emergency relief supplies into the neediest areas of Somalia. The level of malnutrition and death from starvation fell dramatically in many areas. In spite of the improvements, however, the humanitarian and political situation in many parts of the country remained complex and tense. In the southern and central parts of Somalia, large numbers of people remained destitute and totally dependent on relief food assistance. Measles, diarrhoea and other infections continued to take a heavy toll, particularly on small children. Lack of access to clean water sources and poor sanitation continued to present major health threats.

In his 3 March 1993 report, the Secretary-General pointed out that a secure environment remained essential for the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance and for the reconstruction of Somalia. He identified three major challenges facing the United Nations in 1993: facilitating the voluntary return of approximately 300,000 refugees and internally displaced persons; providing jobs and work for the many millions of unemployed Somalis, including members of armed gangs, militias and various private armies; and helping the Somalis in rebuilding their society and rehabilitating the decayed infrastructure.

To achieve these objectives, the United Nations, with the active participation of the Somalis, United Nations agencies, ICRC and NGOs, put together a new Relief and Rehabilitation Programme for the war- and drought-ravaged country. The Programme was adopted at the United Nations Conference on Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia, held from 11 to 13 March 1993 in Addis Ababa under the chairmanship of the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs. The Conference was attended by some 190 Somali representatives, as well as senior representatives of donor Governments, international agencies, regional organizations and NGOs.

The Programme, covering the period from March to December 1993, included activities in 10 priority areas: re-establishment of local administrative capacity; re-establishment of national and local police forces; support services for women, particularly those victimized by violence and trauma; return of some 300,000 refugees and over 1 million displaced persons within Somalia; development of a food security system; establishment of a basic health care system; increasing the availability of potable water and of sanitation; expansion of agriculture and enhancement of livestock; work opportunities for the unemployed; and re-establishment of primary education and vocational training.

At the Addis Ababa Conference, over $130 million was pledged by international donors towards the implementation of the Programme, which was estimated to cost some $166.5 million. It was anticipated that further resources would be forthcoming as the implementation of the various projects gained momentum.

RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE

As the Secretary-General indicated in his 3 March report, ultimately all the efforts undertaken by the United Nations in Somalia were directed towards one central goal: to assist the people of Somalia to create and maintain order and new institutions for their own governance.

The Secretary-General and his Special Representative continued to give high priority to national reconciliation in Somalia. As agreed at the January 1993 informal meeting and following considerable preparatory work, the Conference on National Reconciliation in Somalia was convened on 15 March 1993 in Addis Ababa. The Conference was chaired by the Secretary-General's Deputy Special Representative for Somalia, Ambassador Lansana Kouyate of Guinea, and at-

tended by the leaders of 15 Somali political movements, as well as the representatives of LAS, OAU, OIC, the Standing Committee of the Countries of the Horn and the Non-Aligned Movement.

After almost two weeks of intensive negotiations, the leaders of all 15 Somali political movements signed, on 27 March 1993, an Agreement of the First Session of the Conference of National Reconciliation in Somalia. At the closing session of the Conference on 28 March, the agreement was unanimously endorsed by all the participants, including representatives of women's and community organizations, as well as elders and scholars.

The Agreement comprised four parts: disarmament and security, rehabilitation and reconstruction, restoration of property and settlement of disputes, and transitional mechanisms.

In the agreement, the Somali parties resolved to put an end to armed conflict and to reconcile their differences through peaceful means. They also agreed to consolidate and carry forward advances in peace, security and dialogue made since the beginning of 1993. They reaffirmed their commitment to comply fully with the cease-fire agreement signed in Addis Ababa in January 1993, including the handing over of all weapons and ammunition to UNITAF and UNOSOM II.

The agreement provided for a transitional period of two years, effective 27 March 1993. The transitional mechanism was to consist of the following four basic organs of authority:

Transitional National Council (TNC), to act as the repository of Somali sovereignty and serve as the prime political authority having legislative functions during the transitional period. To consist of 74 members — three (two men and one woman) from each of the 18 regions of the country, one from each of the 15 political movements, and five from Mogadishu;

Central administrative departments, to be responsible for the re-establishment and operation of departments of civil administration and social, economic and humanitarian affairs, thus preparing for the restoration of a formal Government;

Regional councils, to be established in all 18 existing regions of Somalia, comprising 3 representatives from each district council in the region;

District councils, to be established in the existing districts in every region. Members were to be appointed through election or through consensus-based selection in accordance with Somali traditions.

The agreement also provided for the appointment by TNC of a Transitional Charter Drafting Committee, to draft a transitional charter, guided by the basic principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Somalia's traditional ethics.

In the agreement, the Somali parties invited the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to extend all necessary assistance to the people of Somalia for its implementation.

The Secretary-General welcomed the agreement as an important achievement of the Somali people and noted that it represented the first positive step following the adoption by the Security Council on 26 March of resolution 814 (1993). He urged the Somali leaders to proceed without any delay to work out the practical arrangements for implementing the Agreement.

UNOSOM II ACTIVITIES

THE 5 JUNE 1993 INCIDENT

As required under the Addis Ababa agreement and mandated by the Security Council, one of the crucial tasks that fell to UNOSOM II after it took over from UNITAF on 4 May 1993 was the disarmament of all Somali factions and armed groups who terrorized the people and obstructed humanitarian activities. The priority that UNOSOM II gave to disarmament generated the hostility of a few clan leaders, fearful of losing their power, towards UNOSOM. They had not only refused to disarm, but they had resorted to violence in order to frustrate efforts of UNOSOM II to bring relief,

peace and development to Somalia. On 5 June, 25 Pakistani soldiers were killed, 10 were missing and 54 were wounded in a series of ambushes and armed attacks against UNOSOM II troops throughout south Mogadishu by Somali militiamen, apparently belonging to the United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC/SNA) led by General Mohamed Farah Aidid. The bodies of the victims were mutilated and subjected to other forms of degrading treatment.

The Secretary-General, on 6 June, strongly condemned this "treacherous act" against peace-keepers "who were on a mission of peace, reconciliation and reconstruction", and urged "prompt and firm action" against "the perpetrators of this crime". The Secretary-General's Special Representative stated that the soldiers were "murdered as they sought to serve the neediest people in the city". He said that 12 of the soldiers were helping unload food at a feeding station "when they were foully attacked by cowards who placed women and children in front of armed men".

The Security Council, having heard the Secretary-General report on the incident, adopted its resolution 837 (1993) on 6 June. By that resolution, the Council strongly condemned the unprovoked armed attacks against UNOSOM II which "appear to have been part of a calculated and premeditated series of cease-fire violations to prevent by intimidation UNOSOM II from carrying out its mandate". It reaffirmed that the Secretary-General was authorized under resolution 814 (1993) to take all necessary measures against those responsible for the armed attacks and for publicly inciting them, including their arrest and detention for prosecution, trial and punishment. The Council requested him to investigate the incident, particularly on the role of the factional leaders involved.

The Council demanded that all Somali parties comply fully with their commitments regarding political reconciliation, cease-fire and disarmament. It re-emphasized the crucial importance of the early implementation of the disarmament of all Somali parties and of neutralizing radio broadcasting systems that contributed to the violence and attacks against UNOSOM II.

On 8 June, 11 Somali parties condemned the attacks against UNOSOM II personnel and expressed support for Security Council resolution 837 (1993).

UNOSOM II ACTS

Immediately following the adoption of resolution 837 (1993), UNOSOM II began preparations for its implementation. On 12 June 1993, UNOSOM II initiated decisive military action in south Mogadishu. In a series of air and ground military actions, UNOSOM II removed Radio Mogadishu from control of USC/SNA, and disabled or destroyed militia weapons and equipment in a number of storage sites and clandestine military facilities. The Secretary-General, in a statement released on the same day, said that the objective of the action was to restore peace to Mogadishu "so that the political reconciliation, rehabilitation and disarmament process can continue to move forward throughout Somalia". He stated that this should be seen in the context of the international community's commitment to the national disarmament programme endorsed by all Somali parties at Addis Ababa on 27 March 1993.

The actions undertaken by UNOSOM II were strongly supported by the Security Council in a Presidential statement issued on 14 June. At the same time, the Council expressed deep regret at any civilian casualties caused, adding that an investigation was under way into the incident on 13 June which had involved such casualties among the Somalis. Preliminary reports indicated that General Aidid and his supporters had used civilians, including women and children, as human shields for attacks on UNOSOM II.

On 18 June, the Security Council condemned the practice of "some Somali factions and movements in using women and children as human shields to perpetrate their attacks against UNOSOM", and deplored

the civilian deaths that had resulted "despite the timely measures adopted to prevent this from happening".

In parallel with its disarmament operations, UNOSOM II instituted an investigation of the 5 June incident, as requested by Security Council resolution 837 (1993). On 17 June, with mounting evidence implicating SNA militia in the attack, the Secretary-General's Special Representative called on General Aidid to surrender peacefully to UNOSOM II and to urge his followers to surrender their arms. He directed the UNOSOM Force Commander to detain General Aidid for investigation of the 5 June attack, and of the public incitement of such attacks. General Aidid would be treated "decently, fairly and with justice", the Special Representative said. However, attacks on UNOSOM II by General Aidid's militia continued.

In his 17 August 1993 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General pointed out that the short-sighted attitude of leaders of a few factions aggravated the already difficult situation. The ambushing of UNOSOM personnel on 5 June and on subsequent occasions left UNOSOM II with no choice but to take forceful action to effect the disarming required by all Somali factions under the Addis Ababa agreement.

The Secretary-General again pointed out that effective disarmament of all the factions and warlords was a pre-condition for implementing other aspects of UNOSOM's mandate, be they political, civil, humanitarian, rehabilitation or reconstruction. He also added that Somalia would not enjoy stability unless and until the criminal elements were apprehended and brought to justice as demanded by Security Council resolution 837 (1993).

RESOLUTION 865

On 22 September 1993, the Security Council, in resolution 865 (1993), reaffirmed the importance it attached to the successful fulfilment, on an urgent and accelerated basis, of UNOSOM II's objectives — facilitation of humanitarian assistance and the restoration of law and order and of national reconciliation in a free, democratic and sovereign Somalia — so that the mission could be completed by March 1995. In that context, the Council requested the Secretary-General to direct urgent preparation of a detailed concerted strategy with regard to UNOSOM II's humanitarian, political and security activities. The Security Council also approved the Secretary-General's recommendations relating to the re-establishment of the Somali police, judicial and penal systems.

THE 3 OCTOBER 1993 INCIDENT

Following the June 1993 events and as mandated by Security Council resolutions, UNOSOM II pursued a coercive disarmament programme in south Mogadishu. Active patrolling, weapons confiscations, and operations against USC/SNA militia depots were undertaken, together with a public information campaign to ensure that the population understood UNOSOM activities. Concurrently, UNOSOM II encouraged "cooperative" or voluntary disarmament by the Somali factions. UNOSOM II also continued its efforts to apprehend those responsible for instigating and committing armed attacks against United Nations personnel.

On 3 October 1993, United States Rangers[4/] launched an operation in south Mogadishu aimed at capturing a number of key aides of General Aidid who were suspected of complicity in the 5 June attack, as well as subsequent attacks on United Nations personnel and facilities. The operation succeeded in apprehending 24 suspects, including two key aides to General Aidid. During the course of the operation, two United States helicopters were shot down by Somali militiamen using automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades. While evacuating the 24 USC/SNA detainees, the Rangers came under concentrated fire. Eighteen United States soldiers lost their lives and 75 were wounded. One United States helicopter pilot was captured and subsequently released on 14 October 1993. The bodies of the United States soldiers were subject to humiliating treatment.

Following the events of 3 October 1993, the United States reinforced its Quick Reaction Force with a joint task force consisting of air, naval and ground forces equipped with M1A1 tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles. At the same time, President Clinton announced the intention of the United States to withdraw its forces from Somalia by 31 March 1994.

On 9 October 1993, USC/SNA declared a unilateral cessation of hostilities against UNOSOM II forces. After this declaration the situation was generally quiet, but Mogadishu remained tense and, in the capital and elsewhere, major factions were reportedly rearming, apparently in anticipation of renewed fighting.

SECRETARY-GENERAL VISITS REGION

In October 1993, the Secretary-General travelled to the Horn of Africa region to consult with the leaders of the region on UNOSOM II's future concerted strategy for humanitarian, political and security activities, as requested by the Security Council in its resolution 865 (1993). He discussed the situation in and relating to Somalia with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, President Hassan Gouled of Djibouti, President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya and President Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia. The Secretary-General also visited Baidoa and Mogadishu, where he held talks with military and civilian officials of UNOSOM II as well as with Somali elders.

During his visit to Africa, the Secretary-General attended a meeting convened in Cairo by President Hosni Mubarak, then OAU Chairman, with the participation of the Secretaries-General of OAU, LAS and OIC, in an effort to help to promote peace and reconciliation in Somalia and to lay the groundwork for its continued reconstruction and development.

INTERIM EXTENSION OF MANDATE

In a letter to the Security Council, dated 28 October 1993, the Secretary-General requested the interim extension of the UNOSOM II mandate, which was to expire on 31 October, to allow time for the preparation of an in-depth report and for "other related consultations".

The Security Council, by its resolution 878 (1993) of 29 October, extended the UNOSOM II mandate until 18 November 1993 and asked the Secretary-General to report before that date on recent developments in Somalia, so that it could decide on a further extension of the mandate. The Council reiterated its commitment to a future concerted strategy for UNOSOM II and to undertake "in-depth consideration" of the mission's humanitarian, political and security activities" on the basis of the Secretary-General's specific suggestions.

SITUATION REVIEWED

The primary responsibility of UNOSOM II was to ensure the safe distribution of humanitarian assistance, and to carry out an extensive programme for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Somalia. Despite the deliberate attempts to prevent UNOSOM II from performing its tasks, the overall situation in Somalia underwent a major transformation: humanitarian assistance was reaching its destinations protected from attacks and banditry; starvation was largely eradicated; nutrition and immunization programmes were successful in significantly reducing the number of deaths from preventable diseases; return and repatriation programmes for refugees were initiated; schools, closed for three or four years, were reopening. Staff attached to the Humanitarian Division of UNOSOM II were deployed in all the regions of Somalia and were working together with Somalis, United Nations agencies and NGOs in expanding rehabilitation schemes.

On 12 November 1993, the Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council, described the situation in Somalia and set forth his observations and recommendations. Stating that the situation in Somalia had changed in some important aspects, he pointed to the most dramatic and visible success in reducing

starvation deaths and conditions of famine in the country. Significant improvements had been made also in the fields of public health, education, agriculture and other areas.

HUMANITARIAN/ECONOMIC PROGRAMMES

Education. In the field of education, the Secretary-General reported that United Nations agencies, UNOSOM II and NGOs provided substantial assistance in rehabilitating the education sector. A large number of schools were rehabilitated. United Nations agencies and NGOs were assisting in re-opening schools, supplying school lunches, providing education kits, textbooks and incentives to teachers.

Health. By November 1993, some 32 hospitals were operating throughout the country as well as 81 maternal and child health centres. One hundred and three mobile vaccination teams were covering the country, working towards sustainable immunization coverage. It was estimated that about 75 per cent of children under 5 years of age received vaccination against measles. Medicines, supplies, and other equipment were being made available to hospitals, health centres and pharmacies through United Nations agencies and NGOs.

City water supply systems in a number of cities, including Mogadishu, were rehabilitated. United Nations agencies and NGOs were continuing to pursue sanitation and employment projects with food-for-work programmes. In Mogadishu alone, there were 120 such projects that provided food for teachers and hospitals. Similar projects were supported throughout Somalia.

Agriculture. According to the Secretary-General's report, in agriculture — which, historically, had been responsible for two thirds of Somalia's employment and nearly three quarters of the country's foreign exchange earnings — a good measure of success was achieved in reactivating food production and the livestock sector. The provision of seeds and agricultural tools, together with good precipitation, resulted in a substantial increase in the rainy season harvest. The delivery of relief food aid was adjusted to take into account the availability of local food supplies. In the livestock sector, the supply of veterinary drugs and the vaccination of animals facilitated the resuscitation of exports. An estimated quarter of a million head of livestock were exported since April 1993.

Commerce. Commercial and trading activities were also showing encouraging signs of recovery. Commercial traffic at Somalia's ports increased dramatically since December 1992. Civilian ship movements at Mogadishu port increased tenfold in the first half of 1993. Joint ventures between Somali and foreign investors were on the rise. Telecommunication services became available in parts of Mogadishu. Local companies were also providing fuel throughout the country.

Reconstruction and recovery. A draft framework for planning of long-term reconstruction and recovery was prepared, at the request of UNOSOM II, by a task force comprising donors, United Nations agencies and NGOs, under the coordination of the World Bank. The objectives of the framework were: (a) to establish a common vision of the economic and social reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of Somalia; (b) to identify criteria and establish priorities for reconstruction and rehabilitation; (c) to construct a mechanism for coordinated action in an environment of constrained human and capital resources. The third informal meeting of donors, United Nations agencies and NGOs, organized by the World Bank, was held in Paris on 22 October 1993. Participants reviewed the draft framework and discussed the next steps.

Refugees and resettlement. By November 1993, of some 1.7 million people displaced as a result of the turmoil and the famine in Somalia, more than 1 million crossed into Kenya and Ethiopia. Over 250,000 persons moved to Mogadishu, and about 60,000 persons to Kismayo and Baidoa. The northern regions were supporting at least 250,000 refugees and internally displaced persons.

The number of refugees returning from camps in Kenya was increasing. It was estimated that about 70,000 refugees in the Mombasa area had returned by boat to Kismayo, Mogadishu and Bossasso. Assistance was being provided to approximately 800 refugees a week returning to the Gedo region and to those spontaneously moving into the Lower and Middle Juba areas.

POLITICAL ASPECTS

Speaking of political aspects, the Secretary-General reported that his Special Representative and his staff continued their efforts to rebuild political institutions in Somalia. Thirty-nine district councils — considered to be a foundation for civil government — were established out of a total of 73 districts, excluding the districts in the north-west and Mogadishu. In Mogadishu, consultations began on the establishment of district councils. Efforts were continuing to expedite the formation of regional councils — the next layer of political reconstruction. By November 1993, regional councils were established in six areas.

National reconciliation. UNOSOM II continued to attach high priority to the national reconciliation process in Somalia. In this regard, it undertook to resolve conflicts at the regional level and to assist in reconciliation among the Somali people. A regional peace conference — convened in Kismayo, one of the most conflict-ridden areas of the country — brought together 152 elders from throughout the Juba region; on 6 August 1993, the conference participants signed the Jubaland peace agreement in which they committed themselves, on behalf of their clans, to end all hostilities among the more than 20 clans that inhabit the region. A series of similar reconciliation meetings were held in other regions of Somalia.

In the north-east and central regions — from Bossasso to Galkayo — the Deputy Special Representative and UNOSOM II political affairs officers facilitated the reconciliation of two competing wings of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) leadership in the area. Similar efforts by UNOSOM II included the reconciliation of clans in the north-west in Erigavo, and in the Gedo region. In Mogadishu, several meetings were held between UNOSOM II officials and a 47-member supreme committee of the Hawiye sub-clan. From 30 September to 1 October 1993, an all-Somali conference attended by 600 delegates was supported by UNOSOM II. Another pan-Hawiye conference took place in Mogadishu from 14 to 16 October 1993 with the participation of Habr Gedir sub-clan.

Re-establishment of Somali police. With regard to the re-establishment of a neutral and professional Somali police force, as well as judicial and penal systems, the Secretary-General stated that UNOSOM II continued to support small locally based police forces in its areas of operation. Since May 1993, 5,000 former Somali policemen were hired to assist in the performance of police functions. UNOSOM II was finalizing a basic police training programme for Somali policemen. The United States announced a $6 million grant for the re-establishment of the Somali judicial and penal systems, as well as a $2 million assistance programme for the police force and up to $25 million-worth of equipment. Norway contributed $1 million. Cash contributions were also pledged by Japan ($10 million), Italy ($4.5 million), Germany (1.5 million), Denmark ($0.5 million), the Netherlands ($0.5 million) and Sweden ($1.6 million). A number of countries provided police advisers or trainers.

In order to investigate violations of international humanitarian law, UNOSOM II was planning to establish an Office of Human Rights. A team of international specialists, in cooperation with Somali police, were to investigate violations such as mass murder of Somali citizens and attacks and threats made against international assistance workers and UNOSOM II personnel.

THREE OPTIONS PRESENTED

Despite the progress achieved in many areas, however, the Secretary-General stressed that UNOSOM II was at a critical juncture, as the situation in Somalia was continuously evolving. There was still no effectively functioning government in the country, no disciplined

national armed force, and no organized civilian police force or judiciary, although impressive progress had been achieved in initiating the recreation of the police and judiciary.

UNOSOM II's record of general progress throughout most of Somalia was seriously marred by the incidents that had taken place between 5 June and 3 October 1993. Those incidents challenged the cause of disarmament and reconciliation in Somalia, created a situation of instability in south Mogadishu, and stimulated factional elements elsewhere to prepare for a future of renewed fighting.

The Secretary-General reiterated his firm belief that "without effective disarmament of all the factions and warlords in Somalia, it would not be possible for the country to enjoy lasting peace and stability". He stated that comprehensive disarmament would require the cooperation of the Somali people and of neighbouring countries, and would have to be conducted in phases, beginning with the demobilization and rehabilitation of the heavily armed militias. At the same time, disarmament must not destabilize the security balance and must equitably reduce the threat to all segments of the population.

The Secretary-General noted that voluntary disarmament did succeed to some extent both during UNITAF and in the early weeks of UNOSOM II. It was only after 5 June 1993 that it became necessary for UNOSOM II to resort to coercive methods to enforce disarmament in south Mogadishu. In this connection, he welcomed the unilateral declaration of cessation of hostilities by USC/SNA with effect from 9 October 1993 and invited USC/SNA to join the other factions in a meaningful dialogue.

The situation in Somalia, the Secretary-General observed, would continue to remain complex and complicated for the foreseeable future, and the Security Council would have to display flexibility as well as firmness in any decision that it would take while renewing the mandate of UNOSOM II.

Before presenting his recommendations on a renewed mandate for UNOSOM II, the Secretary-General pointed out that, following the events of 3 October 1993, the United States had announced its intention to withdraw all its combat troops and the bulk of its logistics support troops by 31 March 1994. He stressed that the troop-contributing countries could not be expected to maintain their generosity forever, nor could Member States be expected to maintain funding on the present scale. The Governments of Belgium, France and Sweden had earlier announced their decisions to withdraw their contingents from UNOSOM II. The Secretary-General wrote to 42 Member States inviting them to contribute, or to increase their contribution, in terms of troops and logistics support.

In light of the changing circumstances, the Secretary-General went on to present three options for the Security Council to consider in re-examining the mandate of UNOSOM II. Although it was not necessary for the Council to choose one of the options at that stage, the time might soon come for the Council to respond to prevailing conditions and choose an appropriate course of action.

In the first option, the existing mandate of UNOSOM II would remain essentially unchanged as laid down by the Security Council in its resolutions 814 (1993), 837 (1993), 865 (1993) and 878 (1993). UNOSOM II would not take the initiative to resort systematically to coercive methods to enforce disarmament. It was hoped that all factions, including USC/SNA, would cooperate to ensure peaceful conditions in the country. In Mogadishu, USC/SNA would have to remove its roadblocks and strong points throughout the city so that UNOSOM II could escort humanitarian convoys from and into the city. Should these expectations not be met, UNOSOM II must retain the capability for coercive disarmament and retaliation against attacks on its personnel. UNOSOM II would also pursue its plans to re-establish an impartial and professional Somali police force and judicial system. The objective would be to create and maintain secure

conditions for humanitarian assistance, foster national reconciliation, and implement other elements of the existing mandate.

Under this option, UNOSOM II would need the reauthorization of its existing troop strength, as well as the deployment of an additional brigade. In addition, the Member States must fulfil their financial obligations, promptly and in full, of approximately $1 billion for one year.

In the second option, the Security Council would decide that UNOSOM II would not use coercive methods anywhere in the country, rely on the cooperation of the Somali parties in discharging its mandate, and use force only in self-defence. Disarmament would be entirely voluntary. Under this option, UNOSOM II would have to retain some capability to defend its personnel should inter-clan fighting resume. The emphasis would be on ensuring the unimpeded flow of humanitarian assistance, the rehabilitation of the Somali infrastructure, the repatriation of refugees, political reconciliation, the reorganization of the Somali police and judicial system and keeping secure the main supply routes between Mogadishu and outside areas.

The troop requirement under this option would be approximately 16,000 all ranks, with one brigade deployed in Mogadishu, one assigned to convoy duty and one for the security of refugees and of critical areas in need of assistance. A Force Logistics Supply Command of about 2,500 all ranks would also be needed. The financial requirements for this option would be considerably less than the first option.

Under the third option, UNOSOM II would be limited to keeping secure the airport and port in Mogadishu, as well as important ports and airports in other parts of the country, to maintain open supply routes for humanitarian purposes. It would assist in the delivery of humanitarian aid, help development agencies and programmes, and continue training a Somali police force. That option would presuppose cooperation of local authorities and would focus on the regions, rather than on Mogadishu. It would call for the deployment of about 5,000 all ranks and a financial requirement substantially less than the other two options.

The Secretary-General further noted that, in the meantime, UNOSOM II troop strength was adequate for its purpose. UNOSOM II would not use coercive methods to ensure a secure environment which, by and large, was lacking mainly in south Mogadishu. UNOSOM II would continue its efforts to initiate a political dialogue with all the factions, including USC/SNA. In this, UNOSOM II would seek and welcome support from Somalia's neighbours, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya, and from OAU, LAS and OIC. At the same time, UNOSOM II would stand ready to protect its own personnel as well as the personnel of other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. UNOSOM II might also have to be prepared to use force to keep open the lines of communication and supply routes in Mogadishu and elsewhere.

On 16 November 1993, the Security Council adopted resolution 885 (1993). The resolution authorized the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry, in further implementation of its resolutions 814 (1993) and 837 (1993) to investigate armed attacks on UNOSOM II personnel which led to casualties among them. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to appoint the Commission at the earliest possible time.

Soon thereafter, the Security Council, based on the recommendations of the Secretary-General, established a three-member Commission of Inquiry. The Commission comprised The Honourable Matthew S.W. Ngulube, the Chief Justice of Zambia, as Chairman; General Emmanuel Erskine (Ret.) of Ghana; and General Gustav Hagglund of Finland. Mr. Winston Tubman of the United Nations Office of Legal Affairs and former Minister of Justice of Liberia was designated as Executive Secretary of the Commission's secretariat. In accordance with the decision of the Council, pending the completion of the report of the Commission, UNOSOM II suspended arrest actions against those suspected, and, by the end of November 1993, all but eight

detainees of General Aidid's faction had been released.

On 17 January 1994, the Secretary-General gave instructions to his Special Representative for Somalia to release the remaining eight detainees. He ordered their release in view of the Hirab peace agreement, reached on 16 January in Mogadishu between the Habr Gedir and Abgal sub-clans, as well as the written and oral report he received from Enoch Dumbutshena, the independent jurist and former Chief Justice of Zimbabwe, who had been asked to review the cases of detainees. The agreement emerged from the four-day Hirab Peace Conference which brought together 176 delegates, including chiefs, community and religious leaders, politicians, scholars and representatives of the Hirab sub-clans. Neither Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed nor General Aidid attended the Conference.

UNOSOM II MANDATE EXTENDED

On 18 November 1993, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, renewed the mandate of UNOSOM II for a period of six months, expiring on 31 May 1994. By adopting resolution 886 (1993), the Council decided fundamentally to review that mandate by 1 February 1994 in light of a report to be submitted by the Secretary-General on or before 15 January, on the progress made by the Somali people towards national reconciliation. The Council further requested the Secretary-General to supply, as part of his report, an updated plan for UNOSOM II's future humanitarian, political and security strategies.

Affirming that the Addis Ababa agreements of 8 January and 27 March 1993 established a sound basis for resolving the problems in Somalia, the Council urged all parties, including movements and factions, to accelerate political reconciliation and immediately to abide by the cease-fire and disarmament agreements, particularly the cantonment of heavy weapons. It also reminded all the parties that continued United Nations involvement in Somalia depended on their active cooperation and tangible progress towards a political settlement.

The Council underscored the importance of the early and effective functioning of all district and regional councils and an interim national authority. It also stressed the importance attached to the provisions in resolution 865 (1993) regarding the establishment of an operational police, penal and judiciary system at the regional and district level as soon as feasible.

Emphasizing the relationship between rehabilitation and progress in national reconciliation, the Council encouraged donor countries to make contributions particularly to rehabilitation projects in those regions where progress on political reconciliation and security had been made. Member States were also urged to make funds available directly or through the Somalia Trust Fund for priority projects, including the re-establishment of the Somali police and removal of land mines. The Council welcomed the forthcoming convening of the Fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia in Addis Ababa from 29 November to 1 December 1993.

The Council called on all Member States that had not yet done so to contribute troops and financial support to UNOSOM II on an urgent basis. It also called on donor nations to contribute to short-term, high impact development projects to establish links between political progress and reconstruction assistance.

Expressing concern at the destabilizing effects of cross-border arms flows in the region, the Council called for the cessation of such flows and reaffirmed the obligation of all States to fully implement the embargo on weapons and military equipment to Somalia.

In addition, the Council condemned the continued armed attacks against persons engaged in humanitarian and peace-keeping efforts and paid tribute to those troops and humanitarian personnel who had been killed or injured while serving in Somalia.

Also by the text, the Council welcomed and supported the ongoing diplomatic efforts made by Member States and regional organizations in bringing all parties in Somalia to the negotiating table.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

As requested by Security Council resolution 886 (1993) of 18 November 1993, the Secretary-General submitted a further report on 6 January 1994, in which he described the results achieved by UNOSOM II in fulfilling its mandate in the three interrelated fields — political, humanitarian and security.

POLITICAL ASPECTS

National reconciliation. Having said that progress in political reconciliation and reconstruction was central to the success of development efforts and the securing of international assistance to Somalia, the Secretary-General pointed to two primary obstacles on the political level: (a) deep divisions between the two main factional alliances, the Group of 12 supporting Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed and USC/SNA led by General Mohamed Farah Aidid; and (b) the continued rejection by USC/SNA of all political initiatives undertaken by UNOSOM II.

A further attempt to stimulate Somali national reconciliation was made at a political meeting following the Fourth Humanitarian Conference convened by the United Nations at Addis Ababa. From 2 to 11 December 1993, at the invitation of the Ethiopian Government and with the support of UNOSOM II, representatives of the two main alliances, the Group of 12 and USC/SNA, met to discuss outstanding matters and disputes between them. Despite warnings from the international community that failure to achieve progress on the political front could drive away the needed international assistance, the factional representatives failed to agree on a structure for face-to-face talks between their leaders.

There were also sharp differences of opinion between the Group of 12 and USC/SNA on a number of other key issues, including the status of the district and regional councils, and USC/SNA's suggestion that the Addis Ababa agreement be revised. Moreover, USC/SNA continued to insist that the United Nations had no role to play in political reconciliation in Somalia, preferring this to be done by regional Powers, while the Group of 12 held the view that UNOSOM II should remain in Somalia and that the United Nations must play a key role in the Somali political process.

In his report, the Secretary-General stated that a key task of UNOSOM II would be to try to assist in efforts to facilitate the national reconciliation process among the Somali factions. Simultaneously, UNOSOM II would continue to convey the message to Somali factional leaders that the international community was not prepared to wait indefinitely for an improved security environment in which to work on behalf of the Somali people.

District councils. The Secretary-General reported progress in the establishment of district councils throughout the country. Fourteen additional councils were certified during November and December 1993, bringing the total to 53 out of 81 districts (excluding the north-west).[5/] In addition to establishing new district councils, efforts continued in strengthening those councils already established. A team of UNOSOM II staff paid visits to each district to assess the particular support needed by local governments.

According to the Secretary-General, one of the primary obstacles to the effective establishment of district councils in Somalia had been the opposition of USC/SNA, which had refused to participate in the process and which had in some instances attempted to block the formation of councils through intimidation or the creation of shadow USC/SNA district councils.

Regional councils. Since the Secretary-General's 12 November 1993 report, two additional regional councils had been formed, bringing the total number of regional councils to 8 out of the 13 in Somalia, excluding the north-west. Three more regional councils were expected to be inaugurated in the near future. In

accordance with the Addis Ababa agreement, the primary task of the regional councils was to implement humanitarian, social and economic programmes in coordination with TNC and to assist in the conduct of the internationally supervised census.

Transitional National Council. The Secretary-General reported that, with the exception of the USC/SNA faction, participants in the Addis Ababa political meetings expressed a strong intention to work towards the rapid establishment of TNC. So far UNOSOM II had received nine nominations for representatives from the 15 political factions, each of which might nominate one representative to TNC. In addition, regional councils, to nominate three representatives each, began deliberations for the selection of their representatives to TNC.

Police and justice. Progress was made in the re-establishment of police forces and justice systems in Somalia. This was particularly important in the north-east, where no United Nations military forces had been deployed. UNITAF/UNOSOM II had re-established 107 police stations in Somalia's districts. Nationally, there were 6,737 policemen at the regional and district levels, 311 judicial personnel in 8 regions and 26 districts, and over 700 prison officers in two regions. It was also planned to put in place a Somali police rapid deployment force, known as Darawishta, by March 1994.

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

In the humanitarian field, the Secretary-General stated that UNOSOM II had renewed its effort to place humanitarian programmes at the forefront of its work in Somalia. However, despite successful efforts to end famine in the country, there were indications that malnutrition levels were on the rise again in parts of Somalia, including Mogadishu and the Juba valley, two areas of ongoing conflict and insecurity. Consequently, the Division for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs of UNOSOM II, United Nations agencies and NGOs had stepped up efforts to provide emergency food relief and medical treatment to the affected population.

Although insecurity in parts of Somalia slowed and complicated resettlement programmes, the Secretary-General pointed out, UNOSOM II continued to cooperate with UNHCR and other agencies to facilitate the safe and orderly return of Somali refugees and internally displaced persons. Particularly successful resettlement projects were undertaken in the Juba valley, where, since October 1993, over 3,000 persons had returned from camps in Kenya, and from those in Kismayo and Mogadishu.

At the Fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia, held at Addis Ababa from 29 November to 1 December 1993, representatives from Somali regions, political movements and the international donor community reaffirmed their commitment to accelerate Somali control of the rehabilitation and development process. In the Declaration of the meeting, the participants reaffirmed the commitment of the international community to provide unconditionally essential emergency assistance to vulnerable groups. They also stated their agreement that the Somali people should be fully involved in the rehabilitation and development process and must bear responsibility for ensuring an environment conducive to it. Assistance would be provided in those areas where stability and security had been attained. According to the Declaration, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts should be sustainable and should contribute to enhancing efficient operations of the private sector in a free and open market system.

The Declaration called for Somali initiatives in establishing viable civil institutions and appropriate mechanisms to facilitate the reconstruction and recovery of Somalia. The Somali representatives committed themselves to establish preconditions to end insecurity; to establish regional development committees to prioritize regional development activities and mobilize resources; to establish a development council, composed of representatives of those committees; to accept the principle of the right of voluntary return of all displaced

persons and refugees and establish inter-party committees to solve issues relating to returning refugees; and to establish mechanisms at the district level to ensure effective delivery of services.

The donor community, while regretting the absence from the meeting of important elements of Somali political leadership, recognized the readiness of many regions to create conditions necessary for rehabilitation. The donors agreed to support fully mechanisms established to determine rehabilitation priorities, funding modalities and implementation, and to develop a common approach among themselves for the allocation of resources.

They also agreed, among other things, to identify common security and institutional criteria for providing assistance to the regions; to provide assistance to prioritize development activities; to establish mechanisms for channelling recurrent cost funding in a sustainable manner, and to coordinate donor strategies for supporting Somali institutions of management and economic governance.

For its part, UNOSOM committed itself to work with all concerned agencies and organizations to strengthen coordination of all aspects of the United Nations efforts throughout Somalia — humanitarian, political and peace-keeping.

The Declaration called for an aid coordination body composed of representatives of donors, United Nations agencies and programmes, NGOs and other multilateral and regional institutions and organizations. Technical support for the regional committees would be provided by the United Nations Office of Development, under the umbrella of the Humanitarian Division of UNOSOM II. The Office would also serve as secretariat for the development council and for the aid coordinating body. The participants agreed that the Declaration should be translated into a plan of action.

SECURITY ISSUES

In his January 1994 report, the Secretary-General expressed his concern about the security situation in many parts of Somalia. Banditry continued to plague parts of the countryside. There were outbreaks of localized inter-clan fighting. A number of incidents involving threats and actual attacks against international agencies in outlying regions forced several NGOs to temporarily suspend their operations.

In Mogadishu itself, while direct armed confrontation between USC/SNA and UNOSOM II forces was avoided, armed banditry grew considerably, making movement for Somali commercial traffic, UNOSOM personnel and international humanitarian relief supplies increasingly dangerous. Security for international staff remained a troublesome issue. In a number of separate incidents, casualties were suffered by UNOSOM civilian and NGO staff, both international and local, on the streets of Mogadishu. As a result, there was a significant reduction in the presence of international NGOs willing to work in such an environment.

Disarmament and demobilization. The Secretary-General reaffirmed that general disarmament was a prerequisite for the establishment of the peaceful and secure environment required for national reconciliation, rehabilitation and economic reconstruction. However, despite UNOSOM II efforts to promote voluntary disarmament by the Somali parties, there were growing indications that the major factions were actively rearming in anticipation of renewed hostilities in the coming months. The Secretary-General appealed to the parties to commit themselves once again to the disarmament process agreed upon at Addis Ababa and to work constructively with UNOSOM II in order to determine how to implement these commitments.

Deployment. With regard to the deployment of UNOSOM II, the Secretary-General recalled having indicated in his 12 November 1993 report that UNOSOM II would require an additional brigade to accomplish the tasks entrusted to it by the Security Council. This would have brought the authorized troop strength of UNOSOM II to over 32,000 all ranks. However, over the preceding few months, a number of Governments had informed the Secretary-General of

their intention to withdraw their contingents from UNOSOM II. Consequently, the strength of UNOSOM II at the end of March 1994 was anticipated at 19,700 (see *Composition of UNOSOM II*, below).

OPTIONS BEFORE SECURITY COUNCIL

In concluding his report, the Secretary-General stated that progress in various fields notwithstanding, the mandate of UNOSOM II was far from being fully accomplished. He would consider UNOSOM II's mandate completed only when the Addis Ababa agreement of March 1993 was fully implemented, culminating in the holding of general elections and the installation of a popularly-elected Government. Needed towards that end were the creation of a spirit of cooperation, compromise and commitment on the part of the Somali people and the continued involvement of the international community.

Assessing the situation in Somalia, the Secretary-General stated that without the continued stabilizing presence of an adequate United Nations force, there would be an early resumption of civil strife and an unravelling of all that had been achieved. The peace-building process, therefore, would depend on the willingness of United Nations Member States to see the Somalia operation to its successful conclusion.

The Secretary-General, however, expressed doubt that UNOSOM II would have the required level of resources after 31 March 1994, when the military strength would be reduced to 19,700. Although the Secretary-General had approached a large number of United Nations Member States for contributions to UNOSOM II's military component, not a single positive response had been received. Another important question was the availability of timely and adequate financing for UNOSOM II operations.

The Secretary-General recalled that in his 12 November 1993 report, he had outlined three options relating to the mandate and functioning of UNOSOM II as regards security. He had indicated at the same time that whatever option was selected, the United Nations would continue its efforts to promote national reconciliation and institution-building.

The first option, preferred by the Secretary-General, had to be excluded, however, due to inadequate human, material and financial resources. He therefore recommended the second option for consideration by the Security Council.

Under that option, UNOSOM II would not use coercive methods but would rely on the cooperation of the Somali parties. In the event that inter-clan fighting resumed in different parts of the country, UNOSOM II, while not becoming involved in the fighting, would retain some capability to defend its personnel. UNOSOM II would protect the important ports and airports in the country as well as the essential infrastructure of Somalia; keep open the main supply routes between Mogadishu and outlying areas; pursue as a matter of utmost priority the reorganization of the Somali police and judicial systems; and help with the repatriation of refugees. UNOSOM II would also continue its efforts to provide emergency humanitarian relief supplies to all in need throughout the country.

With respect to rehabilitation and development, UNOSOM II would coordinate its activities in such a manner that programmes of assistance of the international community were supported in areas of their choice. In this regard, the Secretary-General recalled that the donor community had made it clear at the Fourth Humanitarian Conference in Addis Ababa that aid would go only to those regions where security prevailed and where counterpart Somali institutions were available. As for the political processes in Somalia, UNOSOM II would continue to play a role as desired by the Somali people.

In recommending this option, the Secretary-General stressed that the success of UNOSOM II would depend on the cooperation of the Somali parties. It was "indispensable" for all concerned to promote national reconciliation in parallel with the re-establishment and strengthening of the Somali institutions of police and

justice. "Should these efforts fail, we might witness renewed fighting and civil war in Somalia", the Secretary-General concluded.

SECURITY COUNCIL REVISES MANDATE

On 4 February 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 897 (1994), approved the Secretary-General's recommendation for the continuation of UNOSOM II, with a revised mandate for the following: assisting the Somali parties in implementing the Addis Ababa Agreements, particularly in their cooperative disarmament and cease-fire efforts; protecting major ports, airports and essential infrastructure; provide humanitarian relief to all in need throughout the country; assisting in the reorganization of the Somali police and judicial system; helping with the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons; assisting in the political process in Somalia; and providing protection for the personnel, installations and equipment of the United Nations and its agencies as well as of NGOs providing humanitarian and reconstruction assistance.

The Council authorized a gradual reduction of UNOSOM II to a force level of up to 22,000. In that context, it underlined the vital importance of providing UNOSOM II with the material means and military assets needed for discharging its responsibilities and defending its personnel. It encouraged Member States to contribute urgently troops, civilian personnel, equipment, financial and logistical support to the Operation.

Expressing serious concern at reports of a rearming and troop build-up by Somali factions, the Council called upon all parties to cooperate fully with UNOSOM II and respect all cease-fire arrangements and other commitments. It demanded that the parties refrain from acts of intimidation or violence against humanitarian or peace-keeping personnel.

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bore the ultimate responsibility for setting up viable institutions and reconstructing their country, the Council approved that international reconstruction resources should be directed first to those regions of the country where security was being re-established. Resources would also be directed to local Somali institutions ready to cooperate with the international community in setting development priorities as contained in the Declaration of the Fourth Humanitarian Conference in Addis Ababa.

The Council requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with OAU and LAS, to consider establishing contacts with Somali parties to agree on a timetable for implementing the Addis Ababa Agreements. The objective would be to complete the process by March 1995.

The Secretary-General was further requested to report, as soon as the situation warranted, and in any case before 31 May 1994, on the situation in Somalia and the implementation of the resolution.

SOMALIA AID COORDINATION

The inaugural meeting of the Somali Aid Coordination Body (SACB), whose membership includes major bilateral and multilateral donors, United Nations agencies and non-governmental groups, was held in Nairobi on 1 and 2 February 1994. SACB was formed in response to the Declaration of the Fourth Humanitarian Conference on Somalia, which called for the creation of a new coordinating mechanism for rehabilitation activities. SACB was mandated to identify means of involving Somalis and their organizations in its efforts.

At the meeting, SACB endorsed the Plan of Action, prepared as a follow-up to the Conference, which reconfirmed that international rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance would be provided to areas of Somalia able to achieve sufficient levels of peace and security to allow long-term donor involvement. Participants discussed plans for donor missions to those regions. They also agreed to prepare a schedule for donor involvement and to plan for future emergency needs.

In view of the long-term nature of reconstruction and development programmes, the Secretary-General approved the transfer of the Development Office from UNOSOM II to a UNDP project on 15 March 1994. The Development Office would function as an integral component of United Nations activities in Somalia and in that context would cooperate closely with UNOSOM II.

NAIROBI DECLARATION

In February 1994, Acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Lansana Kouyate,[6/] launched an initiative to normalize the relationship between UNOSOM II and SNA, and to assist the Somali faction leaders in restoring dialogue and personal relationships among themselves. To this end, the Acting Special Representative held a series of informal consultations on the overall political and security situation in Somalia with leaders of Somali political factions.

The informal consultations in Nairobi that the Acting Special Representative succeeded in convening in March to deal with the situation in Kismayo, where inter-clan fighting had continued since early February 1994, also provided an opportunity to reactivate the political process in Somalia. On 17 March 1994, Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed of the Group of 12/Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA) and General Mohamed Farah Aidid, leader of SNA, met in Nairobi, under the auspices of the Acting Special Representative. It was the first meeting of the two political leaders since December 1992.

On 24 March, after a series of intensive consultations in Nairobi, Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Aidid signed, respectively for the Group of 12 and SNA, the Declaration of National Reconciliation. In this Declaration, the Somali faction leaders, *inter alia*, repudiated "any form of violence as a means of resolving conflicts" and committed themselves to implement "cease-fire and voluntary disarmament throughout Somalia". They also agreed to "restore peace throughout Somalia, giving priority wherever conflicts exist".

It was agreed that in order to restore the sovereignty of the Somali State, a National Reconciliation Conference would be convened on 15 May 1994 to elect a President and Vice-Presidents, and to appoint a Prime Minister, and that the Somali factions which had signed the March 1993 Addis Ababa Peace Agreement and the Somali National Movement (SNM) would meet on 15 April 1994 in Mogadishu to prepare for the Conference. They would also discuss the establishment of a Legislative Assembly after the formation of a national Government.

In addition, on 27 March, the parties directly involved in the conflict in Kismayo — the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) and SNA — signed an agreement calling for a cease-fire as of 27 March and a Lower Juba Reconciliation Conference to be convened on 8 April 1994 in Kismayo. The parties also agreed to appoint a committee to work out the details of its agenda.

The Secretary-General welcomed the signing of the Nairobi Declaration and congratulated Somali political leaders for showing wisdom and political maturity during the negotiations. He urged the leaders to implement fully the commitments undertaken in the Declaration and pledged the full support of the United Nations in helping the Somali people achieve peace and stability.

However, the ongoing factional disputes and conflicts and disagreements concerning modalities led to repeated postponements of the preparatory meeting for the National Reconciliation Conference.

As to the Lower Juba Reconciliation Conference, after considerable delays, it was held from 24 May to 19 June 1994 at Kismayo. The Conference resulted in the signing of a nine-point agreement including a general cease-fire to take effect in the region on 24 June 1994. On 19 June, General Mohamed Said Hersi "Morgan" (SPM) and Mr. Osman Atto (SNA) — the leaders of the two dominant factions in the area — signed a statement pledging the support of their factions for implementation of the Agreement.

MANDATE FURTHER EXTENDED

The Secretary-General further reported to the Security Council on the situation in Somalia on 24 May 1994. He informed the Council of the difficulties encountered in convening the preparatory meeting and the National Reconciliation Conference. The security situation in Somalia was deteriorating; inter-clan fighting and banditry were on the rise, and various factions were making an effort to rearm. Personnel from UNOSOM, as well as those from humanitarian agencies and non-governmental organizations, were threatened, attacked and sometimes kidnapped by uncontrolled armed elements.

In reviewing the humanitarian situation, the Secretary-General stated that despite the progress made in 1993, the emergency situation continued and the welfare of large numbers of Somalis remained at risk. Security problems still plagued relief efforts, affecting both the safety of humanitarian personnel and the regularity and efficiency of delivering assistance. While the repatriation of the Somali refugees continued, security problems and shortfalls in resources slowed the programme, forcing UNHCR to issue an urgent appeal for additional funds.

The Secretary-General noted further that the outbreak of a cholera epidemic in February 1994 had created an unexpected health emergency. Under the auspices of UNOSOM, a Cholera Task Force had quickly been established to coordinate the efforts to contain the epidemic. Responses to new outbreaks had been prompt, resulting in a low fatality rate. The epidemic, however, was not expected to be fully under control before the end of June.

In the report, the Secretary-General also described the police and justice programme, as well as programmes relating to disarmament and demobilization, and demining.

In concluding, the Secretary-General stated that, despite his negative assessment of the political and security situations, he believed that "the Somali people deserve a last chance". But this must be firmly tied to evidence of serious and productive pursuit of the reconciliation process, strict observance of the cease-fire and cooperation with UNOSOM II in preventing the recurrence of clashes and resolving local clan and factional conflicts. He recommended that the Security Council extend UNOSOM II's mandate for a six-month period.

The Secretary-General noted that his recommendation was based on the assumption that the Somali leaders would prove able and willing to pursue the path to political reconciliation. Should that not be the case, he stated that he would not rule out recommending that the Council consider the withdrawal of UNOSOM II in part or in full.

The Security Council, by its resolution 923 (1994) of 31 May 1994, renewed the mandate of UNOSOM II until 30 September 1994, subject to a review no later than 29 July, after which the Council might request the Secretary-General to prepare options regarding UNOSOM's mandate and future operations.

The Council demanded that all parties in Somalia refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against personnel engaged in humanitarian or peace-keeping work in the country. The parties were strongly urged to cooperate fully with UNOSOM II, carry out their commitments and implement the agreements which they had signed, including those relating to voluntary disarmament, and to pursue without delay the negotiations aimed at achieving national reconciliation.

LITTLE PROGRESS REPORTED

As requested by the Security Council, the Secretary-General submitted his report on 18 July 1994. In that document he reviewed the humanitarian, political and security situation in Somalia. He stated that UNOSOM II continued efforts to improve the overall situation in the country, which was significantly better than when UNOSOM had first been deployed but worse than at the time of his 24 May 1994 report.

In the humanitarian field, the Secretary-General reported some progress in overcoming the emergency

situation and moving into the recovery phase by improving the situation of the most vulnerable, particularly women and children, and finding lasting solutions to the plight of the refugees and internally displaced persons. In many regions daily life was returning to normal and agricultural production was recovering. The potentially catastrophic cholera outbreak had been contained. The Division for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs of UNOSOM II continued its efforts to coordinate the provision of humanitarian assistance throughout the country. There had been, at the same time, several important setbacks, which included the interruption, for security reasons, of the activities of WFP in Kismayo as well as those of UNHCR in Afmadu and Buale and the Save the Children Fund (United Kingdom) in Mogadishu.

Analysing the security situation, the Secretary-General noted that it had been marred by clashes among clans and sub-clans, especially in Mogadishu, and by a further increase in banditry. The recurring outbreaks of inter-clan fighting had brought, for several weeks, all humanitarian activities in Mogadishu and its immediate vicinity to a near-standstill. In addition to the deterioration in the security situation, there had been attacks against UNOSOM II personnel resulting in a number of fatal casualties.

In accordance with its concept of operations, UNOSOM II had focused on consolidating activities both inside Mogadishu and in outlying areas by securing key installations and facilities, maintaining presence along key routes and within areas of responsibility through patrolling, and providing security for humanitarian aid convoys. In addition, UNOSOM II had intensified its work related to the training of local police personnel. As of 8 July 1994, police recruits totalled 7,869, and 96 of the 125 police stations had become operational. The mission also continued its work in the judicial, correctional, juvenile justice, crime prevention and human rights fields. As at 10 July, the force strength of UNOSOM II was 18,790.

As to the national reconciliation process, the Secretary-General stated that no progress had been achieved in this regard, and that the repeated postponements of the National Reconciliation Conference and its preparatory meeting, the emergence of new subgroups and the lack of a clear reconciliation process had created the impression that the talks between Somali leaders could continue indefinitely. Some of them still seemed not ready to subordinate their personal ambitions for power to the cause of peace and stability in Somalia.

The Secretary-General indicated that the national reconciliation process was advancing at so slow a pace that there was "little or no reason" to believe that the target of completing the process by March 1995 could be achieved. He stressed to the Somali leaders that the international commitment to assist Somalia could not continue indefinitely and that it was essential that they redouble their efforts to reach agreement on the basis of pluralism and mutual tolerance.

The Secretary-General informed the Security Council that he had asked his newly appointed Special Representative, Mr. James Victor Gbeho,[7/] to prepare an in-depth assessment of the prospects for national reconciliation in Somalia and that he had decided to undertake a comprehensive review of the current troop strength of UNOSOM II. He observed that any success of UNOSOM II in improving security conditions had been achieved by diplomatic rather than military means. Accordingly, he intended to dispatch a special mission to discuss with the Special Representative and the Force Commander the feasibility of a reduction in the troop level currently assigned to UNOSOM II, taking into account the views of the humanitarian agencies and the non-governmental organizations.

On 28 July, the Council, in a letter to the Secretary-General, expressed concern at the very little forward movement in the Somali national reconciliation process and at the deterioration in the security situation in the country. It welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative

and requested him to present recommendations on the future size of UNOSOM II as soon as possible.

NATIONAL RECONCILIATION PROSPECTS

On 17 August, the Secretary-General presented to the Security Council a report containing an assessment of the prospects for national reconciliation in Somalia.

According to the report, it was generally acknowledged that conflicts within the dominant Hawiye clan, to which both Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Farah Aidid belonged, constituted the major obstacle to national reconciliation. It was equally recognized that no meaningful progress could be made in the political process without first finding a solution to the conflict in Mogadishu, and in particular the conflict among the Hawiye sub-clans (Habr Gedir, Abgal, Hawadle and Murosade). The root causes of dissension and tension among the 15 factions were also by and large attributable to rivalries within the Hawiye clan. After all, it was the intra-Hawiye feud that had started the crisis in Mogadishu and its environs in 1991 and was the main cause of the resumption of fighting since June 1994.

It was the view of the Secretary-General's Special Representative that if Hawiye reconciliation could be attained and the differences between Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Aidid resolved, the prospects for national reconciliation and the establishment of a national government would be significantly improved. Both General Aidid and Mr. Ali Mahdi had expressed their willingness to participate in a Hawiye reconciliation conference with the cooperation of other concerned factions and political leaders.

The Special Representative believed that with the cooperation of the parties concerned and the support of the international community, the reconciliation of the Hawiye should be achieved in good time to create a favourable climate for the convening of a conference on national reconciliation and the establishment of an interim government in the last quarter of 1994. This would leave three months for consolidating agreed transitional arrangements for the interim government before the scheduled completion of the mission of UNOSOM II at the end of March 1995.

The Secretary-General said that he was inclined to agree with the Special Representative's assessment that the successful conclusion of the Hawiye conference would greatly facilitate the political reconciliation process. Although there were no clear signs that the parties were preparing for a Hawiye conference, he nevertheless instructed the Special Representative to provide all possible support to the efforts deployed by the parties concerned to convene such a conference.

REDUCTION IN STRENGTH PROPOSED

In his 17 August report, the Secretary-General also informed the Council on the results of the special mission dispatched to Somalia to discuss the feasibility of a reduction in the UNOSOM II troop level. The mission had visited the country from 28 July to 4 August 1994.

In the mission's discussions with the Special Representative and the Force Commander, a consensus had been reached to reduce the UNOSOM II force to about 17,200 all ranks by the end of September 1994. The authorized strength of the Force was then 22,000 all ranks and the actual strength as of 2 August was 18,761. The Force would continue to perform the tasks assigned to it under Security Council resolution 897 (1994) of 4 February 1994.

The special mission recommended that any further reductions should be carefully decided and take into account evolving circumstances. UNOSOM II stressed that a troop level of approximately 15,000 represented the critical minimum below which the mandated tasks could not be implemented. The gradual reduction to the level of 15,000 could be achieved by the end of October or during November 1994.

COUNCIL EXPRESSES GRAVE CONCERN

On 25 August, the Security Council, in a Presidential statement, expressed grave concern regarding the de-

teriorating security situation in Somalia and deplored attacks and harassment directed against UNOSOM II and other international personnel. The Council was also concerned by the lack of progress toward reconciliation among Somali factions, and attached great importance to an accelerated inter-clan reconciliation, in particular, among the Hawiye sub-clans, with the involvement of all concerned.

The Council believed that the Secretary-General's proposed initial reduction of the UNOSOM II Force was appropriate, and stressed that priority attention should be given to ensuring the security of UNOSOM II and other international personnel, including the staff of NGOs. It invited the Secretary-General to submit, well before 30 September 1994, a report on prospects for national reconciliation in Somalia and on the possible options for the future of UNOSOM II.

In the following weeks, the Secretary-General's Special Representative conducted intensive consultations with Mr. Ali Mahdi, General Aidid and the Imam of Hirab, Imam Mahamoud Imam Omar, concerning arrangements for convening the Hawiye peace conference and the national reconciliation conference.

The Imam of Hirab advised the Special Representative that it would be necessary to arrange separate meetings between the Habr Gedir and the other sub-clans before proceeding to a plenary session of the Hawiye peace conference. Several such meetings were convened with some positive results.

As requested by the Security Council, the Secretary-General reported to it on 17 September. That report described the efforts aimed at convening the Hawiye peace conference and other efforts to further the national reconciliation process.

The Secretary-General also referred to the deteriorating security situation which had forced the UNOSOM Force Commander to begin concentrating his troops in four key areas. The purpose of concentration was to avoid the repetition of the kind of incident that occurred in Belet Weyne on 29 July 1994 when a small UNOSOM contingent was overrun by a strong militia force. As a result of the concentration of forces and the reduction process, troops had been withdrawn from Bardera, Hoddur, Wajid and Balad. It was expected that by the end of October, UNOSOM II would be concentrated mainly in three locations: Mogadishu area, Baidoa and Kismayo.

In concluding his report, the Secretary-General indicated that the end of September would be a crucial period for both the national reconciliation process and the continued involvement of the United Nations in Somalia. In view of the current developments, as well as the assessment of the situation on the ground that was being undertaken by the Secretariat, the Secretary-General expected to be in a position by mid-October to submit to the Council his assessment of the prospects for national reconciliation and recommendations for the future of the United Nations operation in Somalia. In the meantime, he recommended that the Council consider extending the mandate of UNOSOM II for a period of one month.

On 30 September, the Security Council, by its resolution 946 (1994), extended the mandate of UNOSOM II until 31 October 1994. It also encouraged the Secretary-General to continue with and intensify preparations for possible contingency arrangements, including the withdrawal of UNOSOM II within a specified time-frame.

ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION

The Secretary-General submitted his further report on 14 October. The report also reflected upon the results of the visit to Somalia by Mr. Kofi A. Annan, Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations.

In the report, the Secretary-General reiterated his view that the process of national reconciliation had not kept pace with achievements in the humanitarian area and that security had been progressively deteriorating, especially in Mogadishu. The Somali leaders still had not carried out commitments entered into under the Addis Ababa Agreement and the Nairobi Declaration.

UNOSOM's goal of assisting the process of political reconciliation was becoming ever more elusive, while the burden and cost of maintaining a high troop level was proving increasingly difficult for Member States to justify.

The protracted political impasse, the Secretary-General continued, had created a vacuum of civil authority and of governmental structure in Somalia, leaving the United Nations with no function to build on. The presence of UNOSOM II troops had had limited impact on the peace process and on security in the face of continuing inter-clan fighting and banditry. If the Council maintained its previous decision to end the Mission in March 1995 and to withdraw all UNOSOM II forces and assets, time would be required to ensure that the withdrawal took place in a secure, orderly and expeditious manner. This might take as long as 120 days. Extensive air and sea support from Member States might also be required.

In the light of those considerations, the Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council extend the Mission's mandate until 31 March 1995. He believed that the five-month extension would give the Somali leaders time to begin consolidating any positive achievements which might arise from the ongoing process of political reconciliation. Accordingly, the Secretary-General instructed his Special Representative to maintain his efforts to help the Somali leaders achieve national reconciliation.

The Secretary-General noted that the humanitarian organizations were committed to continuing their work in Somalia, but they could only go on doing so in a secure environment. Somali leaders would bear the ultimate responsibility for the safety of international and national relief personnel and their assets.

In concluding his report, the Secretary-General stated that the establishment of a viable and acceptable peace could only come from the Somalis themselves. The international community could not impose peace on the people of Somalia; it could only assist in the process of re-establishing peace and security there. Such assistance, however, could not be sustained indefinitely. But the withdrawal of UNOSOM II would not mean United Nations abandonment of Somalia. Should the Somali leaders succeed in creating and maintaining favourable security conditions, the United Nations and the international community could continue to play a role in the country's rehabilitation and reconstruction. The United Nations could also retain a certain presence after the withdrawal of UNOSOM II, to continue assisting the Somali political organizations and factions in the process of national reconciliation. However, the Secretary-General warned that the feasibility of international assistance of this kind would be very much dependent on the degree of security prevailing in the country.

SECURITY COUNCIL MISSION

In its resolution 946 (1994), the Security Council declared its readiness to consider sending a mission to Somalia to convey directly to the Somali political parties the Council's views on the situation in that country, and on the future of the United Nations involvement there. At its consultations held on 20 October, the Council decided to send such a mission to Somalia.

The seven-member mission, which was headed by Ambassador Colin Keating, Permanent Representative of New Zealand, left for Somalia on 24 October and returned on 29 October. Its programme of work included meetings with the leaders of the Somali factions, and briefings from the Special Representative and the UNOSOM II Force Commander. The mission also had a meeting with representatives of United Nations agencies and NGOs operating in Somalia.

The mission concluded that 31 March 1995 was the appropriate date for the end of the mandate of UNOSOM II. None of the Somali factions had requested a longer extension; nor did the humanitarian agencies or NGOs.

On 31 October, the Security Council extended the mandate of UNOSOM II, which was expiring on that

day, for an interim period until 4 November 1994, to allow time to consider the report of its mission to Somalia before completing the review of the mandate of the Operation and deciding on its future.

FUTURE OF UNOSOM II DECIDED

On 4 November 1994, after having considered the Secretary-General's reports dated 17 September and 14 October and the oral report of its mission to Somalia given on 31 October, the Security Council, by its resolution 954 (1994), decided to extend the mandate of UNOSOM II for a final period until 31 March 1995. It affirmed that the primary purpose of UNOSOM II until its termination was to facilitate political reconciliation in Somalia.

The Council decided that every effort should be made to withdraw the UNOSOM II military force and assets from Somalia in a secure and orderly manner. To that end it authorized UNOSOM II to take the actions necessary to protect the withdrawal. It also requested Member States to assist with the withdrawal of the Operation.

The Council demanded that the Somali parties refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against UNOSOM II and other personnel engaged in humanitarian activities. It also urged them to negotiate an effective cease-fire and the formation of a transitional government of national unity.

INTER-AGENCY STANDING COMMITTEE

In a letter dated 10 November 1994 to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General drew the Council's attention to a statement on Somalia by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC).[8/]

The statement reaffirmed the commitment of the humanitarian agencies to continue emergency and rehabilitation activities in Somalia to the maximum extent possible after expiration of the UNOSOM II mandate on 31 March 1995. In light of the UNOSOM II military withdrawal, the agencies agreed to adopt a common and coordinated approach to retain or replace the essential programme support and operational services formerly provided by UNOSOM II, and to develop a common framework for action with the full support of all operational partners. The IASC proposed establishment of a United Nations Coordination Team of senior representatives of United Nations organizations active in Somalia, chaired by the Resident Representative of UNDP in Somalia, serving also as Humanitarian Coordinator.

The IASC statement urged the Security Council to support the process of transition from UNOSOM protected humanitarian operations to those following UNOSOM II's departure by: considering possible arrangements for the establishment of protected humanitarian operational bases at essential ports and airports; authorizing the transfer of UNOSOM II equipment and assets to operational United Nations organizations and international non-governmental organizations; making UNOSOM II humanitarian and security staff available to the new coordination arrangement. United Nations organizations also urged that positive consideration be given to funding security requirements through a special allocation so that voluntary funds for humanitarian activities not be diverted.

The statement called for the continued support of the international donor community but noted, however, that international assistance to Somalia would be contingent upon the Somali people ensuring that conditions existed for the effective implementation of emergency and rehabilitation programmes.

In a letter to the Secretary-General dated 7 December 1994, the President of the Security Council, on behalf of the Council's members, took note of the IASC statement and welcomed the commitment of the agencies to continue emergency and rehabilitation activities in post-UNOSOM Somalia. The Council also encouraged the Secretary-General to play a facilitating or mediating political role in Somalia after March 1995 if the parties to the conflict in Somalia were willing to

cooperate with the United Nations and if this was the wish of the Somali people.

On 22 December, the United Nations appealed for $70.3 million for emergency relief and short-term rehabilitation activities in Somalia for the six-month period from 1 January to 30 June 1995. The appeal covered the activities of the organizations of the United Nations system and IOM in such areas as education, demobilizing combatants, and providing food aid to support reconstruction efforts. Action would be taken to support community health centres, sustain water supplies, repatriate refugees and resettle internally displaced persons.

UNOSOM II WITHDRAWN

The phase-out of UNOSOM II from Somalia began in November 1994 and was completed in March 1995. Given the volatile situation prevailing in Somalia, it was a complex exercise involving the departure of the 15,000 United Nations troops then deployed in the country. During the final stage of the operation, support for the withdrawal was provided by the Combined Task Forces "United Shield" (France, India, Italy, Malaysia, Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the United States), whose troops landed at Mogadishu on 28 February 1995.

On 2 March 1995, the Secretary-General issued a statement in which he announced that the withdrawal of UNOSOM had been completed. The withdrawal had been carried out in a safe and orderly manner, ahead of schedule and virtually without a hitch. Its completion marked the end of a major phase of the efforts of the international community to facilitate the search for peace and reconciliation and to bring humanitarian assistance. The Secretary-General emphasized that this effort would continue and that the United Nations would not abandon Somalia.

At the same time, the Secretary-General noted that the feasibility of international assistance, both in the political and humanitarian areas, would depend on the cooperation extended to the United Nations and the humanitarian agencies by the Somali leaders, the resources made available for them and the degree of security prevailing in the country.

The Secretary-General extended his thanks to the countries that had contributed peace-keeping contingents to UNOSOM and to the soldiers who had served with devotion and courage under the flag of the United Nations. He also paid a particular tribute to the Member States that had been successful in their mission of supporting the withdrawal of UNOSOM II.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In the weeks preceding the withdrawal of UNOSOM II, the Secretary-General's Special Representative urged the SNA and the SSA to accelerate the consultations, initiated in January 1994, to form joint committees to manage the operations of the Mogadishu seaport and airport. In January 1995, the SSA and the SNA established a negotiating committee. Subsequently, that committee was given a wider mandate to coordinate political and economic matters relating to reconciliation among the Habr Gedir and Mudulood clans, work out modalities for bringing General Aidid and Mr. Ali Mahdi together and merge the two separate conferences/meetings on national reconciliation sponsored by the SNA and the SSA respectively.

In February 1995, a number of significant political developments took place. On 21 February 1995, a peace agreement was signed by General Aidid and Mr. Ali Mahdi on behalf of the SNA and the SSA respectively. In that agreement, the two sides, among other things, accepted the principle of power-sharing; pledged not to seek the presidency through military means but through democratic elections; agreed to the resolution of disputes through dialogue and peaceful means; and agreed on a common platform for tackling problems. The agreement also included provisions for the confinement of "technicals" to designated areas and discouraged the open carrying of arms in the streets of Mogadishu. In addition, it called for the removal of

roadblocks and the reopening of the main markets in the city.

In another significant development, on 23 February 1995, the two sides reached agreement on the establishment of two joint committees to manage the operations of the Mogadishu airport and seaport. The Mogadishu seaport was reopened to civilian traffic on 9 March. The reopening of the seaport resulted from the signing of a third agreement between Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Aidid on 5 March 1995. On 8 March, the two leaders initialled a fourth agreement to establish a security committee comprising militia and police officers from both sides, which would provide security in and around those facilities, as well as the routes used to deliver commodities to the markets.

The signing of those agreements had a positive effect on the political process as a whole, with both the SNA and the SSA emphasizing that there would be no more war between them.

OPERATION ASSESSED

On 28 March 1995, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on the situation in Somalia in which he provided a general assessment of what had been achieved by the United Nations in Somalia in political, humanitarian, military and security matters and the police and justice programme. The report also presented a number of general observations and offered some thoughts on the role that the United Nations could play in Somalia beyond the conclusion of UNOSOM II's mandate.

The Secretary-General stated that although the United Nations Operation in Somalia had been a difficult mission and had not attained all its objectives, it could nevertheless claim major accomplishments. He recalled that, in late 1992, 3,000 men, women and children had been dying daily of starvation. This tragedy had been ended by the international relief effort. As far as national reconciliation was concerned, the international community, through the efforts of UNITAF and UNOSOM I and II, strove to create an environment conducive for the Somali leaders to achieve that goal. The most the international community could do for the Somali parties was to afford every opportunity for them to agree among themselves on the modalities to re-establish their political and administrative structures based on a broad-based reconciliation, leading to the reconstruction of their country. If the political will to achieve a durable compromise was lacking, the responsibility lay with the Somali leadership.

The Secretary-General emphasized that the Security Council had been prepared to pursue its peace-keeping efforts as long as it felt that the United Nations presence was receiving the cooperation of the Somali factions. However, over the preceding few months, it had been concluded that the United Nations presence in Somalia was no longer promoting national reconciliation. Agreements reached under United Nations auspices unravelled and security continued to deteriorate, especially in Mogadishu. United Nations peace-keepers and humanitarian convoys were threatened and, in a number of instances, viciously attacked. The Somali leaders did not heed repeated warnings that if they did not show a minimum of political will the United Nations presence would have to be reconsidered. In these circumstances, continuation of UNOSOM II could no longer be justified.

The experience of UNOSOM II, the Secretary-General continued, had confirmed the validity of the point that the Security Council had consistently stressed in its resolutions on Somalia, namely that the responsibility for political compromise and national reconciliation must be borne by the leaders and people concerned. It was they who bore the main responsibility for creating the political and security conditions in which peacemaking and peace-keeping could be effective. The international community could only facilitate, prod, encourage and assist. It could neither impose peace nor coerce unwilling parties into accepting it.

The Secretary-General observed that there were important lessons to be learned about the "theory and practice of multifunctional peace-keeping operations in conditions of civil war and chaos and especially about the clear line that needs to be drawn between peace-keeping and enforcement action". The world had changed and so had the nature of the conflict situations which the United Nations was asked to deal with. There was a need for careful and creative rethinking about peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building in the context of the Somali operation. The Secretary-General noted that some of his initial conclusions might be found in his recent position paper, the "Supplement to an Agenda for Peace" (S/1995/1).

The Secretary-General reiterated that the withdrawal of UNOSOM II did not mean that the United Nations was abandoning Somalia. The United Nations agencies and organizations, as well as NGOs, were determined to continue humanitarian operations in Somalia. In the post–UNOSOM II era, they would focus on rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction, without prejudice to emergency relief where that was necessary.

The experience of UNOSOM II, the Secretary-General continued, had demonstrated the vital link between humanitarian assistance and assistance in achieving national reconciliation. The former was geared towards the immediate amelioration of emergency situations, while the latter was necessary to ensure stability in the long term so that the positive results of humanitarian assistance could be preserved and a recurrence of the tragedy avoided. He stressed that he would continue to make available his good offices to assist the Somali factions to arrive at a political settlement and would maintain a political presence in the area for that purpose. Its location should be in Mogadishu but this would depend on security considerations. In the meantime, the Secretary-General's Special Representative would remain in Nairobi in order to monitor the situation in Somalia and coordinate United Nations humanitarian activities there.

Commenting on the political situation in the country, the Secretary-General stated that there had been some signs that the withdrawal of UNOSOM II might have triggered among Somali leaders an enhanced awareness of their responsibilities. He was encouraged by the signing of agreements that had helped to avert fighting over the sea and airports in Mogadishu and allowed the reopening of the Mogadishu seaport. It was the first time since the Nairobi Declaration of March 1994 that the two leaders had put their signatures to any peace agreement. While the recent history of Somalia suggested that these positive signs must be examined with caution, they could develop into an encouraging trend. The Secretary-General hoped that the Somali leaders would find the strength and the courage to pursue a more productive peace process in the coming weeks.

SOMALIA WILL NOT BE ABANDONED

In a statement adopted on 6 April 1995, the Security Council underlined that the timely intervention of UNOSOM II and the humanitarian assistance given to Somalia had helped to save many lives and much property, mitigate general suffering and contributed to the search for peace in Somalia. However, "the continuing lack of progress in the peace process and in national reconciliation, in particular the lack of sufficient cooperation from the Somali parties over security issues, undermined the United Nations objectives in Somalia and prevented the continuation of UNOSOM II mandate beyond 31 March 1995".

The Council reaffirmed that the people of Somalia bore the ultimate responsibility for achieving national reconciliation and restoring peace to Somalia. The international community could only facilitate, encourage and assist the process, but not try to impose any particular solution on it. The Council, therefore, called upon the Somali parties to pursue national reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction in the interest of peace, security and development.

The Security Council supported the view of the Secretary-General that Somalia should not be abandoned by the United Nations and stated that the Organization would continue to assist the Somali people to achieve a political settlement and to provide humanitarian and other support services, "provided that the Somalis themselves demonstrate a disposition to peaceful resolution of the conflict and to cooperation with the international community". It welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to continue a small political mission, should the Somali parties so wish, to assist them in national reconciliation. The Secretary-General was requested to continue to monitor the situation in Somalia and to keep the Council informed about further developments.

The Council reaffirmed the obligations of States to implement fully the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia imposed resolution 733 (1992), and called on States, especially neighbouring States, to refrain from actions capable of exacerbating the conflict in Somalia.

The Security Council expressed its appreciation to those Governments and agencies that had provided the personnel, humanitarian assistance and other support to the peace-keeping operation in Somalia, including those Governments which had participated in the multinational operation for UNOSOM's withdrawal.

COMPOSITION OF UNOSOM II

The original authorized strength of UNOSOM II was approximately 28,000 military personnel and some 2,800 civilian staff. Military personnel were provided by the following countries: Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, India, Ireland, Italy, Kuwait, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United States and Zimbabwe. UNOSOM II also included a large civilian component, consisting of approximately 800 international and some 1,800 locally recruited staff.

In addition, there were approximately 17,700 troops in the United States Joint Task Force in Somalia, which did not form part of UNOSOM II and were not under the operational command of the UNOSOM II Force Commander. This number included the Quick Reaction Force, deployed in support of UNOSOM II.

In the course of 1993, a number of Member States, including Belgium, France and Sweden, informed the Secretary-General of their intention to withdraw their contingents from UNOSOM II by the end of December 1993. In addition, the United States announced, in October 1993, that it would withdraw its troops from Somalia by the end of March 1994. Accordingly, the French contingent (1,100 all ranks), the Belgian contingent (950 all ranks) and the Swedish Field Hospital (150 all ranks) were withdrawn from Somalia in December 1993. The United States also withdrew 1,400 military logistics personnel at the end of December. As a result, the strength of UNOSOM II on 1 January 1994 was 25,945.

In its resolution 897 (1994), the Security Council revised the mandate of UNOSOM II and authorized the gradual reduction of the UNOSOM force level to 22,000, including 2,500 logistics and support elements.

Four other Member States decided to withdraw their contingents before the end of March 1994: Italy (2,300), Germany (1,350), Turkey (320) and Norway (140). The United States withdrew the rest of its military logistics personnel (1,400) also by the end of March 1994. The United States Quick Reaction Force (1,350) was also withdrawn at that time. Subsequently, Greece, Kuwait, Morocco, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates also withdrew their contingents. At the same time, a number of other contributing countries increased their contingent strength. The troop strength available to UNOSOM II at the end of July 1994 was 18,775.

In August 1994, the Security Council agreed with the Secretary-General's recommendation to reduce further the troop level of UNOSOM II to 15,000 all ranks. On 4 November 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 954 (1994), decided to withdraw UNOSOM II by 31 March 1995. The withdrawal operation began in November 1994 and was completed on 2 March 1995.

When the withdrawal began in November 1994, military and police personnel were provided by the following countries:

COUNTRY	POLICE	TROOPS
Australia	1	
Bangladesh	1	939
Egypt	1	1,176
Ghana	6	
India		4,689
Indonesia		6
Ireland		3
Italy		4
Malaysia		1,135
Nepal		2
Netherlands	1	
Nigeria	5	57
Pakistan		5,988
Philippines	1	
Republic of Korea		3
Zambia	6	
Zimbabwe	5	939
TOTAL	27	14,941

*Troops *include any infantry, logistics, engineering, air, medical, mov-con, staff, etc.

During its almost two years of existence, UNOSOM II suffered 136 fatalities.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The costs of the Operation were met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. The total cost of UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II (1 May 1992–28 February 1995) was approximately US$ 1.64 billion. As at 10 March 1995, contributions outstanding to the UNOSOM Special Account for the period from the inception of the operation to 28 February 1995 amounted to $387.2 million ($15.0 for UNOSOM I and $372.2 for UNOSOM II). Consequently, reimbursement of troop costs has been made only up to the period ending 30 September 1994. In addition, amounts are outstanding for contingent-owned equipment.

Contributions received for the Trust Fund for Somalia as of 10 March 1995 amounted to $21.6 million, consisting of $21.5 million for the re-establishment of the Somali police force and judicial system and $0.1 million for the support of UNOSOM II forces. Expenditures from the Fund for the re-establishment of the Somali police force and judicial system were authorized in the amount of $15.2 million.

NOTES

1/ Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appointed Mr. Ismat Kittani (Iraq) as his Special Representative for Somalia on 3 November 1992, to replace Mr. Mohammed Sahnoun who had resigned.

2/ In addition to the United States forces, UNITAF included military units from Australia, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, India, Italy, Kuwait, Morocco, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom and Zimbabwe.

3/ On 18 January 1994, General Bir was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Aboo Samah Bin Aboo Bakar of Malaysia as Force Commander of UNOSOM II.

4/ United States forces (United States Rangers and the Quick Reaction Force) were deployed in Mogadishu in support of the UNOSOM II mandate, but were not under United Nations command or control.

5/ The legal status of several districts was still the subject of discussions between UNOSOM II and local Somali communities. As a result, the total number of districts said to exist in Somalia might vary.

6/ The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, Admiral Jonathan T. Howe (Ret.), completed his year-long assignment in early February 1994. His Deputy, Ambassador Lansana Kouyate, was appointed as the Acting Special Representative.

7/ Effective 1 July 1994, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. James Victor Gbeho, Principal Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana, to serve as his Special Representative for Somalia. Ambassador Lansana Kouyate (Guinea), who had been Acting Special Representative since February 1994, assumed his functions as Assistant Secretary-General in the Department of Political Affairs at United Nations Headquarters in New York.

8/ The IASC, established under General Assembly resolution 46/182, is comprised of the heads of operational United Nations agencies, ICRC, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC), and representatives of 3 international NGOs.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND STATEMENTS BY ITS PRESIDENT

(23 January 1992 — 6 April 1995)

SECURITY COUNCIL

Under the United Nations Charter, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. All United Nations Member States have agreed to accept and carry out the Council's decisions in accordance with the Charter.

The Council is composed of 15 members. Five are permanent: China, France, the Russian Federation,* the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. The 10 non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly to serve two-year terms.

Since 1992, the year in which UNOSOM was established, non-permanent members of the Security Council were as follows:

1992 — Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, Venezuela and Zimbabwe.

1993 — Brazil, Cape Verde, Djibouti, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Spain and Venezuela.

1994 — Argentina, Brazil, Czech Republic, Djibouti, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda and Spain.

1995 — Argentina, Botswana, Czech Republic, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman and Rwanda.

Each member of the Security Council has one vote. Decisions on substantive matters require nine affirmative votes including the concurring votes of all five permanent members. The permanent members may abstain or not participate at all in the voting, and still satisfy the stipulation of their concurrence in the affirmative vote. A negative vote by any permanent member means the rejection of the draft resolution or proposal.

RESOLUTIONS AND STATEMENTS

Between 23 January 1992 and 6 April 1995, the Council adopted 17 resolutions directly relating to the situation in Somalia. In addition, the President of the Security Council issued five statements in this connection. The full text of those resolutions and statements is reproduced on the following pages.

* The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was an original Member of the United Nations from 24 October 1945. In a letter dated 24 December 1991, the President of the Russian Federation informed the Secretary-General that the membership of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the United Nations, including the Security Council and all the organs and organizations of the United Nations system, was being continued by the Russian Federation with the support of the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

RESOLUTION 733 (1992)
23 January 1992

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Having heard the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia and commending the initiative taken by him in the humanitarian field,

Gravely alarmed at the rapid deterioration of the situation in Somalia and the heavy loss of human life and widespread material damage resulting from the conflict in the country and aware of its consequences on the stability and peace in the region,

Concerned that the continuation of this situation constitutes, as stated in the report of the Secretary-General, a threat to international peace and security,

Recalling its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Recalling also the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter,

Expressing its appreciation to the international and regional organizations that have provided assistance to the populations affected by the conflict and deploring that personnel of these organizations have lost their lives in the exercise of their humanitarian tasks,

Taking note of the appeals addressed to the parties by the Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on 16 December 1991, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity on 18 December 1991 (S/23469) and the League of Arab States on 5 January 1992 (S/23448),

1. Takes note of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia and expresses its concern with the situation prevailing in that country;

2. Requests the Secretary-General immediately to undertake the necessary actions to increase humanitarian assistance by the United Nations and its specialized agencies to the affected population in all parts of Somalia in liaison with the other international humanitarian organizations and to this end to appoint a coordinator to oversee the effective delivery of this assistance;

3. Also requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in cooperation with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, immediately to contact all parties involved in the conflict, to seek their commitment to the cessation of hostilities in order to permit the humanitarian assistance to be distributed, to promote a cease-fire and compliance therewith, and to assist in the process of a political settlement of the conflict in Somalia;

4. Strongly urges all parties to the conflict immediately to cease hostilities and agree to a cease-fire and to promote the process of reconciliation and of political settlement in Somalia;

5. Decides, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and stability in Somalia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia until the Council decides otherwise;

6. Calls on all States to refrain from any action which might contribute to increasing tension and to impeding or delaying a peaceful and negotiated outcome to the conflict in Somalia, which would permit all Somalis to decide upon and to construct their future in peace;

7. Calls upon all parties to cooperate with the Secretary-General to this end and to facilitate the delivery by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other humanitarian organizations of humanitarian assistance to all those in need of it, under the supervision of the coordinator;

8. Urges all parties to take all the necessary measures to ensure the safety of personnel sent to provide humanitarian assistance, to assist them in their tasks and to ensure full respect for the rules and principles of international law regarding the protection of civilian populations;

9. Calls upon all States and international organizations to contribute to the efforts of humanitarian assistance to the population in Somalia;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on this matter;

11. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

RESOLUTION 746 (1992)
17 March 1992

Adopted, as orally revised, by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 11 March 1992 on the situation in Somalia (S/23693),

Taking note of the signing at Mogadishu on 3 March 1992 of the cease-fire agreements, including agreements for the implementation of measures aimed at stabilizing the cease-fire through a United Nations monitoring mission,

Deeply regretting that the factions have not yet abided by their commitment to implement the cease-fire and thus have still not permitted the unimpeded provision and distribution of humanitarian assistance to the people in need in Somalia,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the continuation of the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Bearing in mind that the factors described in paragraph 76 of the Secretary-General's report (S/23693) must be taken into account,

Cognizant of the importance of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Underlining the importance which it attaches to the international, regional and non-governmental organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, continuing to provide humanitarian and other relief assistance to the people of Somalia under difficult circumstances,

Expressing its appreciation to the regional organizations, including the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, for their cooperation with the United Nations in the effort to resolve the Somali problem,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 11 March 1992 on the situation in Somalia;

2. Urges the Somali factions to honour their commitment under the cease-fire agreements signed at Mogadishu on 3 March 1992;

3. Urges all the Somali factions to cooperate with the Secretary-General and to facilitate the delivery by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other humanitarian organizations of humanitarian assistance to all those in need of it, under the supervision of the coordinator mentioned in resolution 733 (1992);

4. Requests the Secretary-General to pursue his humanitarian efforts in Somalia and to use all the resources at his disposal, including those of the relevant United

Nations agencies, to address urgently the critical needs of the affected population in Somalia;

5. *Appeals* to all Member States and to all humanitarian organizations to contribute to and to cooperate with these humanitarian relief efforts;

6. *Strongly supports* the Secretary-General's decision urgently to dispatch a technical team to Somalia, accompanied by the Coordinator, in order to work within the framework and objectives outlined in paragraphs 73 and 74 of his report (S/23693) and to submit expeditiously a report to the Security Council on this matter;

7. *Requests* that the technical team also develop a high-priority plan to establish mechanisms to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance;

8. *Calls* on all parties, movements and factions in Mogadishu in particular, and in Somalia in general, to respect fully the security and safety of the technical team and the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and to guarantee their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;

9. *Calls upon* the Secretary-General to continue, in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, his consultations with all Somali parties, movements and factions towards the convening of a conference for national reconciliation and unity in Somalia;

10. *Calls upon* all Somali parties, movements and factions to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution;

11. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

RESOLUTION 751 (1992)
24 April 1992

Adopted, as orally revised, by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992 and 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 21 and 24 April 1992 on the situation in Somalia (S/23829 and Add.1 and Add.2),

Taking note of the signing of the cease-fire agreements in Mogadishu on 3 March 1992, including agreements for the implementation of measures aimed at stabilizing the cease-fire through a United Nations monitoring mission,

Taking note also of the signing of letters of agreement in Mogadishu, Hargeisa and Kismayo on the mechanism for monitoring the cease-fire and arrangements for the equitable and effective distribution of humanitarian assistance in and around Mogadishu,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the continuation of the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Cognizant of the importance of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Underlining the importance which it attaches to the international, regional and non-governmental organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, continuing to provide humanitarian and other relief assistance to the people of Somalia under difficult circumstances,

Expressing its appreciation to the regional organizations, including the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, for their cooperation with the United Nations in the effort to resolve the Somali problem,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 21 and 24 April 1992 on the situation in Somalia (S/23829 and Add.1 and Add.2);

2. Decides to establish under its authority, and in support of the Secretary-General in accordance with paragraph 7 below, a United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM);

3. Requests the Secretary-General immediately to deploy a unit of 50 United Nations Observers to monitor the cease-fire in Mogadishu in accordance with paragraphs 24 to 26 of the Secretary-General's report (S/23829);

4. Agrees, in principle, also to establish under the overall direction of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General a United Nations security force to be deployed as soon as possible to perform the functions described in paragraphs 27 to 29 of the report of the Secretary-General (S/23829);

5. Requests the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the parties in Mogadishu regarding the proposed United Nations security force and, in the light of those consultations, to submit his further recommendations to the Security Council for its decision as soon as possible;

6. Welcomes the intention expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 64 of his report (S/23829) to appoint a Special Representative for Somalia to provide overall direction of United Nations activities in Somalia and to assist him in his endeavours to reach a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Somalia;

7. Also requests the Secretary-General as part of his continuing mission in Somalia to facilitate an immediate and effective cessation of hostilities and the maintenance of a cease-fire throughout the country in order to promote the process of reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia and to provide urgent humanitarian assistance;

8. Welcomes the cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in resolving the problem in Somalia;

9. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately to cease hostilities and to maintain a cease-fire throughout the country in order to promote the process of reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to continue as a matter of priority his consultations with all Somali parties, movements and factions towards the convening of a conference on national reconciliation and unity in Somalia in close cooperation with the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference;

11. Decides to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, a Committee of the Security Council consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) to seek from all States information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia imposed by paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992);

(b) to consider any information brought to its attention by States concerning violations of the embargo, and in that context to make recommendations to the Council on ways of increasing the effectiveness of the embargo;

(c) to recommend appropriate measures in response to violations of the embargo and to provide information on a regular basis to the Secretary-General for general distribution to Member States;

12. Notes with appreciation the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to Somalia, particularly to Mogadishu;

13. Calls upon the international community to support, with financial and other resources, the implementation of the 90-day Plan of Action for Emergency Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia;

14. Urges all parties concerned in Somalia to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia and reiterates its call for the full respect for the security and safety of the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and the guarantee of their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;

15. Calls upon all Somali parties, movements and factions to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of this resolution;

16. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

RESOLUTION 767 (1992)
27 July 1992

Adopted, as orally revised, by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992 and 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 22 July 1992 on the situation in Somalia (S/24343),

Considering the letter of 23 June 1992 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council informing him that all the parties in Mogadishu had agreed to the deployment of the fifty military observers, and that the advance party of observers had arrived in Mogadishu on 5 July 1992 and that the rest of the observers had arrived in the mission area on 23 July 1992 (S/24179),

Deeply concerned about the availability of arms and ammunition in the hands of civilians and the proliferation of armed banditry throughout Somalia,

Alarmed by the sporadic outbreak of hostilities in several parts of Somalia leading to continued loss of life and destruction of property, and putting at risk the personnel of the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and other international humanitarian organizations, as well as disrupting their operations,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and underlining the urgent need for quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Recognizing that the provision of humanitarian assistance in Somalia is an important element in the effort of the Council to restore international peace and security in the area,

Responding to the urgent calls by the parties in Somalia for the international community to take measures in Somalia to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance,

Noting the Secretary-General's proposals for a comprehensive decentralized zonal approach in the United Nations involvement in Somalia,

Cognizant that the success of such an approach requires the cooperation of all parties, movements and factions in Somalia,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 22 July 1992 on the situation in Somalia (S/24343);

2. Requests the Secretary-General to make full use of all available means and arrangements, including the

mounting of an urgent airlift operation, with a view to facilitating the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations in accelerating the provision of humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia, threatened by mass starvation;

3. Urges all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia and reiterates its call for the full respect of the security and safety of the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and the guarantee of their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;

4. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate with the United Nations with a view to the urgent deployment of the United Nations security personnel called for in paragraphs 4 and 5 of its resolution 751 (1992), and otherwise assist in the general stabilization of the situation in Somalia, without which cooperation the Council does not exclude other measures to deliver humanitarian assistance to Somalia;

5. Reiterates its appeal to the international community to provide adequate financial and other resources for humanitarian efforts in Somalia;

6. Encourages the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to all regions of Somalia;

7. Appeals to all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to extend full cooperation to the United Nations military observers and to take measures to ensure their security;

8. Requests the Secretary-General, as part of his continuing efforts in Somalia, to promote an immediate and effective cessation of hostilities and the maintenance of a cease-fire throughout the country in order to facilitate the urgent delivery of humanitarian assistance and the process of reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

9. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately to cease hostilities and to maintain a cease-fire throughout the country;

10. Stresses the need for the observance and strict monitoring of the general and complete embargo of all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, as decided in paragraph 5 of its resolution 733 (1992);

11. Welcomes the cooperation between the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in resolving the situation in Somalia;

12. Approves the Secretary-General's proposal to establish four operational zones in Somalia as part of the consolidated United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM);

13. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that his Special Representative for Somalia is provided with all the necessary support services to enable him to carry out his mandate effectively;

14. Strongly supports the decision of the Secretary-General to dispatch urgently a technical team to Somalia, under the overall direction of his Special Representative, in order to work within the framework and objectives outlined in paragraph 64 of his report (S/24343) and to submit expeditiously a report to the Security Council on this matter;

15. Affirms that all officials of the United Nations and all experts on mission for the United Nations in Somalia enjoy the privileges and immunities provided for in the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations of 13 February 1946 and in any other relevant instruments and that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia are required to allow them full freedom of movement and all necessary facilities;

16. Requests the Secretary-General to continue urgently his consultations with all parties, movements and

factions in Somalia towards the convening of a conference on national reconciliation and unity in Somalia in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference;

17. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution;

18. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

RESOLUTION 775 (1992)

28 August 1992

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992 and 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 24 and 28 August 1992 on the situation in Somalia (S/24480),

Deeply concerned about the availability of arms and ammunition and the proliferation of armed banditry throughout Somalia,

Alarmed by the continued sporadic outbreak of hostilities in several parts of Somalia leading to continued loss of life and destruction of property, and putting at risk the personnel of the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and other international humanitarian organizations, as well as disrupting their operations,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and underlining the urgent need for quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Reaffirming that the provision of humanitarian assistance in Somalia is an important element in the effort of the Council to restore international peace and security in the area,

Welcoming the ongoing efforts by the United Nations organizations as well as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), non-governmental organizations and States to provide humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia,

Welcoming in particular the initiatives to provide relief through airlift operations,

Convinced that no durable progress will be achieved in the absence of an overall political solution in Somalia,

Taking note in particular of paragraph 24 of the report of the Secretary-General,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 24 and 28 August 1992 on the situation in Somalia (S/24480) on the findings of the technical team and the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained therein;

2. Invites the Secretary-General to establish four zone headquarters as proposed in paragraph 31 of the report (S/24480);

3. Authorizes the increase in strength of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) and the subsequent deployment as recommended in paragraph 37 of the Secretary-General's report;

4. Welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General to increase substantially the airlift operation to areas of priority attention;

5. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate with the United Nations with a view to the urgent deployment of the United Nations security personnel called for in paragraphs 4 and 5 of its resolution 751 (1992) and as recommended in paragraph 37 of the Secretary-General's report;

6. Welcomes also the material and logistical support from a number of States and ***urges*** that the airlift operation be effectively coordinated by the United Nations as described in paragraphs 17 to 21 of the report of the Secretary-General;

7. Urges all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia and reiterates its call for full respect for the security and safety of the personnel of these organizations and the guarantee of their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;

8. Reiterates its appeal to the international community to provide adequate financial and other resources for humanitarian efforts in Somalia;

9. Encourages ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, and non-governmental organizations to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to all regions of Somalia, and ***underlines*** the importance of coordination between these efforts;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to continue, in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, his efforts to seek a comprehensive political solution to the crisis in Somalia;

11. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately to cease hostilities and to maintain a cease-fire throughout the country;

12. Stresses the need for the observance and strict monitoring of the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, as decided in paragraph 5 of its resolution 733 (1992);

13. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution;

14. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
16 October 1992

Following consultations of the Security Council, held on 16 October 1992, the President of the Council made the following statement to the media on behalf of the members of the Council in connection with the item entitled "The situation in Somalia":

The Security Council heard today a communication from Mr. Sahnoun, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Somalia. On this occasion, the members of the Security Council reiterated their full support for the action of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. They also expressed the wish that the appeal recently made in Geneva for an increase in the humanitarian assistance to Somalia should be heeded.

The members of the Council expressed their deep concern over the information communicated to them by Mr. Sahnoun, particularly regarding the difficulties he is encountering in the delivery of humanitarian assistance. In this regard, the rapid deployment of UNOSOM personnel is essential. The members of the Council consider that persons hampering the deployment of UNOSOM would be responsible for aggravating an already unprecedented humanitarian disaster.

RESOLUTION 794 (1992)
3 December 1992

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992 and 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992,

Recognizing the unique character of the present situation in Somalia and ***mindful*** of its deteriorating, complex and extraordinary nature, requiring an immediate and exceptional response,

Determining that the magnitude of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Somalia, further exacerbated by the obstacles being created to the distribution of humanitarian assistance, constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and ***underlining*** the urgent need for the quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Noting the efforts of the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, and in particular the proposal made by the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at the forty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly for the organization of an international conference on Somalia, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other regional agencies and arrangements to promote reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia and to address the humanitarian needs of the people of that country,

Commending the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations and of non-governmental organizations and of States to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Responding to the urgent calls from Somalia for the international community to take measures to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Expressing grave alarm at continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law occurring in Somalia, including reports of violence and threats of violence against personnel participating lawfully in impartial humanitarian relief activities; deliberate attacks on non-combatants, relief consignments and vehicles, and medical and relief facilities; and the impeding of the delivery of food and medical supplies essential for the survival of the civilian population,

Dismayed by the continuation of conditions that impede the delivery of humanitarian supplies to destinations within Somalia, and in particular reports of looting of relief supplies destined for starving people, attacks on aircraft and ships bringing in humanitarian relief supplies, and attacks on the Pakistani contingent in Mogadishu of the United Nations Operation in Somalia,

Taking note with appreciation of the letters of 24 November 1992 (S/24859) and of 29 November 1992 (S/24868) from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council,

Sharing the Secretary-General's assessment that the situation in Somalia is intolerable and that it has become necessary to review the basic premises and principles of the United Nations effort in Somalia, and that the Operation's existing course would not in present circumstances be an adequate response to the tragedy in Somalia,

Determined to establish as soon as possible the necessary conditions for the delivery of humanitarian assistance wherever needed in Somalia, in conformity with resolutions 751 (1992) and 767 (1992),

Noting the offer by Member States aimed at establishing a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia as soon as possible,

Determined also to restore peace, stability and law and order with a view to facilitating the process of a political settlement under the auspices of the United Nations, aimed at national reconciliation in Somalia, and ***encouraging*** the Secretary-General and his Spe-

cial Representative for Somalia to continue and intensify their work at the national and regional levels to promote these objectives,

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bear ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and the reconstruction of their own country,

1. Reaffirms its demand that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately cease hostilities, maintain a cease-fire throughout the country, and cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia as well as with the military forces to be established pursuant to the authorization given in paragraph 10 below in order to promote the process of relief distribution, reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

2. Demands that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia take all measures necessary to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia;

3. Also demands that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia take all measures necessary to ensure the safety of United Nations and all other personnel engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance, including the military forces to be established pursuant to the authorization given in paragraph 10 below;

4. Further demands that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately cease and desist from all breaches of international humanitarian law including from actions such as those described above;

5. Strongly condemns all violations of international humanitarian law occurring in Somalia, including in particular the deliberate impeding of the delivery of food and medical supplies essential for the survival of the civilian population, and ***affirms*** that those who commit or order the commission of such acts will be held individually responsible in respect of such acts;

6. Decides that the operations and the further deployment of the 3,500 personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) authorized by paragraph 3 of resolution 775 (1992) should proceed at the discretion of the Secretary-General in the light of his assessment of conditions on the ground; and ***requests*** him to keep the Council informed and to make such recommendations as may be appropriate for the fulfilment of the mandate of the Operation where conditions permit;

7. Endorses the recommendation by the Secretary-General in his letter of 29 November 1992 (S/24868) to the President of the Security Council that action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations should be taken in order to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia as soon as possible;

8. Welcomes the offer by a Member State described in the Secretary-General's above-mentioned letter concerning the establishment of an operation to create such a secure environment;

9. Welcomes also offers by other Member States to participate in that operation;

10. *Acting* under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, ***authorizes*** the Secretary-General and Member States cooperating to implement the offer referred to in paragraph 8 above to use all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia;

11. Calls on all Member States which are in a position to do so to provide military forces and to make additional contributions, in cash or in kind, in accordance with paragraph 10 above and ***requests*** the Secretary-General to establish a fund through which the contributions, where appropriate, could be channelled to the States or operations concerned;

12. Also authorizes the Secretary-General and the Member States concerned to make the necessary arrangements for the unified command and control of the

forces involved, which will reflect the offer referred to in paragraph 8 above;

13. Requests the Secretary-General and the Member States acting under paragraph 10 above to establish appropriate mechanisms for coordination between the United Nations and their military forces;

14. Decides to appoint an ad hoc commission composed of members of the Security Council to report to the Council on the implementation of the present resolution;

15. Invites the Secretary-General to attach a small Operation liaison staff to the field headquarters of the unified command;

16. *Acting* under Chapters VII and VIII of the Charter, **calls upon** States, nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, to use such measures as may be necessary to ensure strict implementation of paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992);

17. Requests all States, in particular those in the region, to provide appropriate support for the actions undertaken by States, nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, pursuant to the present and other relevant resolutions;

18. Requests the Secretary-General and, as appropriate, the States concerned to report to the Council on a regular basis, the first such report to be made no later than fifteen days after the adoption of the present resolution, on the implementation of the present resolution and the attainment of the objective of establishing a secure environment so as to enable the Council to make the necessary decision for a prompt transition to continued peace-keeping operations;

19. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit a plan to the Council initially within fifteen days after the adoption of the present resolution to ensure that the Operation will be able to fulfil its mandate upon the withdrawal of the unified command;

20. Invites the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue their efforts to achieve a political settlement in Somalia;

21. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 814 (1993)
26 March 1993

Adopted, as orally revised, by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992, 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992 and 794 (1992) of 3 December 1992,

Bearing in mind General Assembly resolution 47/167 of 18 December 1992,

Commending the efforts of Member States acting pursuant to resolution 794 (1992) to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia,

Acknowledging the need for a prompt, smooth and phased transition from the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) to the expanded United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II),

Regretting the continuing incidents of violence in Somalia and the threat they pose to the reconciliation process,

Deploring the acts of violence against persons engaging in humanitarian efforts on behalf of the United Nations, States, and non-governmental organizations,

Noting with deep regret and concern the continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law and the general absence of the rule of law in Somalia,

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and reconstruction of their own country,

Acknowledging the fundamental importance of a comprehensive and effective programme for disarming Somali parties, including movements and factions,

Noting the need for continued humanitarian relief assistance and for the rehabilitation of Somalia's political institutions and economy,

Concerned that the crippling famine and drought in Somalia, compounded by the civil strife, have caused massive destruction to the means of production and the natural and human resources of that country,

Expressing its appreciation to the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement for their cooperation with, and support of, the efforts of the United Nations in Somalia,

Further expressing its appreciation to all Member States which have made contributions to the Fund established pursuant to paragraph 11 of resolution 794 (1992) and to all those who have provided humanitarian assistance to Somalia,

Commending the efforts, in difficult circumstances, of the initial United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) established pursuant to resolution 751 (1992),

Expressing its appreciation for the invaluable assistance the neighbouring countries have been providing to the international community in its efforts to restore peace and security in Somalia and to host large numbers of refugees displaced by the conflict and ***taking note*** of the difficulties caused to them due to the presence of refugees in their territories,

Convinced that the restoration of law and order throughout Somalia would contribute to humanitarian relief operations, reconciliation and political settlement, as well as to the rehabilitation of Somalia's political institutions and economy,

Convinced also of the need for broad-based consultations and deliberations to achieve reconciliation, agreement on the setting up of transitional government institutions and consensus on basic principles and steps leading to the establishment of representative democratic institutions,

Recognizing that the re-establishment of local and regional administrative institutions is essential to the restoration of domestic tranquillity,

Encouraging the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue and intensify their work at the national, regional and local levels, including and encouraging broad participation by all sectors of Somali society, to promote the process of political settlement and national reconciliation and to assist the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy,

Expressing its readiness to assist the people of Somalia, as appropriate, on a local, regional or national level, to participate in free and fair elections, with a view towards achieving and implementing a political settlement,

Welcoming the progress made at the United Nations-sponsored Informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa from 4 to 15 January 1993, in particular the conclusion at that meeting of three agreements by the Somali parties, including movements and factions, and ***welcoming also*** any progress made at the Conference on National Reconciliation which began in Addis Ababa on 15 March 1993,

Emphasizing the need for the Somali people, including movements and factions, to show the political will to achieve security, reconciliation and peace,

Noting the reports of States concerned of 17 December 1992 (S/24976) and 19 January 1993 (S/25126) and of the Secretary-General of 19 December 1992 (S/24992) and 26 January 1993 (S/25168) on the implementation of resolution 794 (1992),

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993 (S/25354 and Add.1 and 2),

Welcoming the intention of the Secretary-General to seek maximum economy and efficiency and to keep the size of the United Nations presence, both military and civilian, to the minimum necessary to fulfil its mandate,

Determining that the situation in Somalia continues to threaten peace and security in the region,

A

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993;

2. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for convening the Conference on National Reconciliation for Somalia in accordance with the agreements reached during the Informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa in January 1993 and for the progress achieved towards political reconciliation in Somalia, and also for his efforts to ensure that, as appropriate, all Somalis, including movements, factions, community leaders, women, professionals, intellectuals, elders and other representative groups are suitably represented at such conferences;

3. Welcomes the convening of the Third United Nations Coordination Meeting for Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia in Addis Ababa from 11 to 13 March 1993 and the willingness expressed by Governments through this process to contribute to relief and rehabilitation efforts in Somalia, where and when possible;

4. Requests the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and with assistance, as appropriate, from all relevant United Nations entities, offices and specialized agencies, to provide humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy and promoting political settlement and national reconciliation, in accordance with the recommendations contained in his report of 3 March 1993, including in particular:

(a) To assist in the provision of relief and in the economic rehabilitation of Somalia, based on an assessment of clear, prioritized needs, and taking into account, as appropriate, the 1993 Relief and Rehabilitation Programme for Somalia prepared by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs;

(b) To assist in the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons within Somalia;

(c) To assist the people of Somalia to promote and advance political reconciliation, through broad participation by all sectors of Somali society, and the re-establishment of national and regional institutions and civil administration in the entire country;

(d) To assist in the re-establishment of Somali police, as appropriate at the local, regional or national level, to assist in the restoration and maintenance of peace, stability and law and order, including in the investigation and facilitating the prosecution of serious violations of international humanitarian law;

(e) To assist the people of Somalia in the development of a coherent and integrated programme for the removal of mines throughout Somalia;

(f) To develop appropriate public information activities in support of the United Nations activities in Somalia;

(g) To create conditions under which Somali civil society may have a role, at every level, in the process of political reconciliation and in the formulation and realization of rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes;

B

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

5. Decides to expand the size of the UNOSOM force and its mandate in accordance with the recommendations contained in paragraphs 56-88 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1992, and the provisions of this resolution;

6. Authorizes the mandate for the expanded UNOSOM (UNOSOM II) for an initial period through 31 October 1993, unless previously renewed by the Security Council;

7. Emphasizes the crucial importance of disarmament and the urgent need to build on the efforts of UNITAF in accordance with paragraphs 56-69 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993;

8. Demands that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, comply fully with the commitments they have undertaken in the agreements they concluded at the Informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa, and in particular with their Agreement on Implementing the Cease-fire and on Modalities of Disarmament (S/25168, Annex III);

9. Further demands that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, take all measures to ensure the safety of the personnel of the United Nations and its agencies as well as the staff of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations engaged in providing humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy and promoting political settlement and national reconciliation;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to support from within Somalia the implementation of the arms embargo established by resolution 733 (1992), utilizing as available and appropriate the UNOSOM II forces authorized by this resolution, and to report on this subject, with any recommendations regarding more effective measures if necessary, to the Security Council;

11. Calls upon all States, in particular neighbouring States, to cooperate in the implementation of the arms embargo established by resolution 733 (1992);

12. Requests the Secretary-General to provide security, as appropriate, to assist in the repatriation of refugees and the assisted resettlement of displaced persons, utilizing UNOSOM II forces, paying particular attention to those areas where major instability continues to threaten peace and security in the region;

13. Reiterates its demand that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, immediately cease and desist from all breaches of international humanitarian law and ***reaffirms*** that those responsible for such acts be held individually accountable;

14. Requests the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, to direct the Force Commander of UNOSOM II to assume responsibility for the consolidation, expansion and maintenance of a secure environment throughout Somalia, taking account of the particular circumstances in each locality, on an expedited basis in accordance with the recommendations contained in his report of 3 March 1993, and in this regard to organize a prompt, smooth and phased transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II;

C

15. Requests the Secretary-General to maintain the fund established pursuant to resolution 794 (1992) for the additional purpose of receiving contributions for maintenance of UNOSOM II forces following the departure of UNITAF forces and for the establishment of Somali police, and calls on Member States to make contributions to this fund, in addition to their assessed contributions;

16. Expresses appreciation to the United Nations agencies, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and the ICRC for their contributions and assistance and ***requests*** the Secretary-General to ask them to continue to extend financial, material and technical support to the Somali people in all regions of the country;

17. Requests the Secretary-General to seek, as appropriate, pledges and contributions from States and others to assist in financing the rehabilitation of the political institutions and economy of Somalia;

18. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council fully informed on action taken to implement the present resolution, in particular to submit as soon as possible a report to the Council containing recommendations for establishment of Somali police forces and thereafter to report no later than every ninety days on the progress achieved in accomplishing the objectives set out in the present resolution;

19. Decides to conduct a formal review of the progress towards accomplishing the purposes of the present resolution no later than 31 October 1993;

20. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 837 (1993)
6 June 1993

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992, 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992, 794 (1992) of 3 December 1992 and 814 (1993) of 26 March 1993,

Bearing in mind General Assembly resolution 47/167 of 18 December 1992,

Gravely alarmed at the premeditated armed attacks launched by forces apparently belonging to the United Somali Congress (USC/SNA) against the personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) on 5 June 1993,

Strongly condemning such actions, which directly undermine international efforts aimed at the restoration of peace and normalcy in Somalia,

Expressing outrage at the loss of life as a result of these criminal attacks,

Reaffirming its commitment to assist the people of Somalia in re-establishing conditions of normal life,

Stressing that the international community is involved in Somalia in order to help the people of Somalia who have suffered untold miseries due to years of civil strife in that country,

Acknowledging the fundamental importance of completing the comprehensive and effective programme for disarming all Somali parties, including movements and factions,

Convinced that the restoration of law and order throughout Somalia would contribute to humanitarian relief operations, reconciliation and political settlement, as well as to the rehabilitation of Somalia's political institutions and economy,

Condemning strongly the use of radio broadcasts, in particular by the USC/SNA, to incite attacks against United Nations personnel,

Recalling the statement made by its President on 31 March 1993 (S/25493) concerning the safety of United Nations forces and personnel deployed in conditions of strife and ***committed*** to consider promptly measures appropriate to the particular circumstances to ensure that persons responsible for attacks and other acts of violence against United Nations forces and personnel are held to account for their actions,

Taking note of the information provided to the Council by the Secretary-General on 6 June 1993,

Determining that the situation in Somalia continues to threaten peace and security in the region,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Strongly condemns the unprovoked armed attacks against the personnel of UNOSOM II on 5 June 1993, which appear to have been part of a calculated and premeditated series of cease-fire violations to prevent by intimidation UNOSOM II from carrying out its mandate as provided for in resolution 814 (1993);

2. Expresses its condolences to the Government and people of Pakistan and the families of the UNOSOM II personnel who have lost their lives;

3. Re-emphasizes the crucial importance of the early implementation of the disarmament of all Somali parties, including movements and factions, in accordance with paragraphs 56–69 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993 (S/25354), and of neutralizing radio broadcasting systems that contribute to the violence and attacks directed against UNOSOM II;

4. Demands once again that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, comply fully with the commitments they have undertaken in the agreements they concluded at the informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa, and in particular with their Agreement on Implementing the Cease-fire and on Modalities of Disarmament (S/25168, annex III);

5. Reaffirms that the Secretary-General is authorized under resolution 814 (1993) to take all necessary measures against all those responsible for the armed attacks referred to in paragraph 1 above, including against those responsible for publicly inciting such attacks, to establish the effective authority of UNOSOM II throughout Somalia, including to secure the investigation of their actions and their arrest and detention for prosecution, trial and punishment;

6. Requests the Secretary-General urgently to inquire into the incident, with particular emphasis on the role of those factional leaders involved;

7. Encourages the rapid and accelerated deployment of all UNOSOM II contingents to meet the full requirements of 28,000 men, all ranks, as well as equipment, as indicated in the Secretary-General's report of 3 March 1993 (S/25354);

8. Urges Member States to contribute, on an emergency basis, military support and transportation, including armoured personnel carriers, tanks and attack helicopters, to provide UNOSOM II the capability appropriately to confront and deter armed attacks directed against it in the accomplishment of its mandate;

9. Further requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Council on the implementation of the present resolution, if possible within seven days from the date of its adoption;

10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT (TO THE PRESS)
14 June 1993

The following statement was issued to the press on 14 June 1993 by the President of the Security Council:

The Security Council has received an interim report by the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia, particularly regarding the actions undertaken by the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) in the past three days.

The members of the Security Council strongly endorse these actions which have been carried out in accordance with resolutions 814 (1993) and 837 (1993), as well as other relevant resolutions adopted by the Council.

These actions form part of a continuing programme to disarm the Somali society and neutralize all heavy weapons. Another major objective of the coordinated military actions was the neutralization of radio Mogadishu, which has been used to incite violence against UNOSOM II.

The primary objective of the mandate entrusted by the Security Council to UNOSOM II is to put an end to the plight of the Somali people. Therefore, the restoration of law and order is essential if UNOSOM II is to effectively carry out its tasks relating to the delivery of humanitarian assistance and the promotion of national reconciliation and social and economic reconstruction in Somalia.

The members of the Security Council deeply regret the casualties which have occurred among Somali civilians. An investigation on the 13 June incident is under way. Preliminary reports indicate that civilian crowds, including women and children, have been used by General Aidid and his supporters as human shields to screen attacks on fixed guard posts or strong points. Furthermore, it would appear that shots were fired from the crowd at United Nations soldiers on the ground.

The members of the Security Council are determined that law and order is restored in Somalia and that the

resolutions of the Council are fully and effectively applied for the good of the Somali people as a whole.

Once again, the members of the Council wish to pay tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Admiral Jonathan Howe; the Force Commander, Lieutenant-General Çevik Bir, and to all UNOSOM II personnel for their courage and commitment in the performance of their mission.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT (TO THE PRESS)
18 June 1993

The following statement was issued to the press on 18 June 1993 by the President of the Security Council:

The Security Council has been receiving continuous and punctual information from the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia. This morning, the members of the Council received a further interim report by the Secretary-General on the very latest developments.

The members of the Council are following with great attention and interest the actions undertaken by the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) in the implementation of relevant resolutions adopted by the Council aimed at the restoration of law and order in Somalia. They wish to reiterate their support to the efforts carried out by the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and UNOSOM forces in the very difficult circumstances currently prevailing in Somalia.

The members of the Council firmly condemn the practice of some Somali factions and movements in using women and children as human shields to perpetrate their attacks against UNOSOM, and deplore the deaths of civilian population that have resulted despite the timely measures adopted to prevent this from happening.

The members of the Council wish to express their condolences to the Governments and people of Morocco and Pakistan whose forces in UNOSOM have suffered casualties in the past days, as well as to the bereaved families of the soldiers that died. Also, they wish to express their regret and sympathy to those that have been wounded.

The members of the Council want to stress the resolve of the international community in establishing a safe environment in Somalia which will allow the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the Somali people, as well as in promoting national reconciliation and social and economic reconstruction in this country.

RESOLUTION 865 (1993)
22 September 1993

Adopted, as orally revised, by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992, 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992, 794 (1992) of 3 December 1992, 814 (1993) of 26 March 1993 and 837 (1993) of 6 June 1993,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General (S/26317) of 17 August 1993,

Stressing the importance of continuing the peace process initiated by the Addis Ababa agreement and in this connection ***welcoming*** the efforts of African countries, the Organization of African Unity, in particular its Horn of Africa Standing Committee, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in cooperation with and in support of the United Nations, to promote national reconciliation in Somalia,

Stressing the commitment of the international community to help Somalia regain a normal, peaceful life, while recognizing that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and reconstruction of their own country,

Expressing its appreciation for the improvements in the overall situation, which have been achieved by the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), in particular, eradication of starvation, establishment of

a large number of district councils, opening of schools and resumption by the Somali people in most areas of the country of their normal lives,

Recognizing the continuing need for broadbased consultations and consensus on basic principles to achieve national reconciliation and the establishment of democratic institutions,

Calling upon all Somali parties, including movements and factions, to show the political will to achieve reconciliation, peace and security,

Recognizing that the highest priority for UNOSOM II is to assist the people of Somalia in the furtherance of the national reconciliation process and to promote and advance the re-establishment of regional and national institutions and civil administration in the entire country, as set out in resolution 814 (1993),

Noting with great concern, despite the improvements in the overall situation in Somalia, continuing reports of violence in Mogadishu and the absence of law enforcement and judicial authorities and institutions in the country as a whole, and ***recalling*** the request to the Secretary-General in resolution 814 (1993) to assist in the re-establishment of the Somali police and the restoration and maintenance of peace, stability, and law and order,

Convinced that the re-establishment of the Somali police, and judicial and penal systems, is critical for the restoration of security and stability in the country,

Gravely concerned at the continuation of armed attacks against the personnel of UNOSOM II, and recalling its resolution 814 (1993) which emphasized the fundamental importance of a comprehensive and effective programme for disarming Somali parties, including movements and factions,

A

1. Welcomes the reports by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative on the progress achieved in accomplishing the objectives set out in resolution 814 (1993);

2. Commends the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, and all the personnel of UNOSOM II, for their achievements in greatly improving the conditions of the Somali people and beginning the process of nation-building apparent in the restoration in much of the country of stable and secure conditions in stark contrast with the prior suffering caused by inter-clan conflict;

3. Condemns all attacks on UNOSOM II personnel and ***reaffirms*** that those who have committed or have ordered the commission of such criminal acts will be held individually responsible for them;

4. Affirms the importance it attaches to the successful fulfilment on an urgent and accelerated basis of UNOSOM II's objectives of facilitation of humanitarian assistance and the restoration of law and order, and of national reconciliation in a free, democratic and sovereign Somalia, so that it can complete its mission by March 1995;

5. Requests, in that context, the Secretary-General to direct the urgent preparation of a detailed plan with concrete steps setting out UNOSOM II's future concerted strategy with regard to its humanitarian, political and security activities and to report thereon to the Council as soon as possible;

6. Urges the Secretary-General to re-double his efforts at the local, regional and national levels, including encouraging broad participation by all sectors of Somali society, to continue the process of national reconciliation and political settlement, and to assist the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy;

7. Calls on all Member States to assist, in all ways possible, including the urgent full staffing of UNOSOM II civil positions, the Secretary-General, in conjunction with regional organizations, in his efforts to reconcile the parties and rebuild Somali political institutions;

8. Invites the Secretary-General to consult the countries of the region and regional organizations con-

cerned on means of further reinvigorating the reconciliation process;

B

9. Approves the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in annex I to his report of 17 August 1993 (S/26317) relating to the re-establishment of the Somali police, judicial and penal systems in accordance with resolution 814 (1993) and ***requests*** the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps on an urgent and accelerated basis to implement them;

10. Welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to convene at the earliest possible date a meeting of Member States interested in supporting UNOSOM II in the re-establishment of the police, judicial and penal systems, for the purpose of determining specific requirements and identifying specific sources of support;

11. Further requests the Secretary-General to undertake actively and as a matter of great urgency an international recruiting programme for staffing the UNOSOM II Justice Division with police, judicial and penal system specialists;

12. Welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to maintain and utilize the fund established pursuant to resolution 794 (1992) and maintained in resolution 814 (1993) for the additional purpose of receiving contributions for the re-establishment of the Somali judicial and penal systems in addition to the establishment of the Somali police, other than for the cost of international staff;

13. Urges Member States, on an urgent basis, to contribute to that fund or otherwise to provide assistance for the re-establishment of the Somali police, judicial and penal systems, including personnel, financial support, equipment and training to help attain the objectives outlined in annex I to the Secretary-General's report (S/26317);

14. Encourages the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure continuation of the current police, judicial and penal programme from October to the end of December 1993 until additional funding from Member States is forthcoming, and to make recommendations as appropriate to the General Assembly;

15. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council fully informed on a regular basis on the implementation of this resolution;

16. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 878 (1993)
29 October 1993

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992, 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992, 794 (1992) of 3 December 1992, 814 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 837 (1993) of 6 June 1993 and 865 (1993) of 22 September 1993,

Having considered the letter of the Secretary-General (S/26663) of 28 October 1993,

Stressing the need for all the parties in Somalia to exercise maximum restraint and to work towards national reconciliation,

Expressing once again its commitment to a future concerted strategy for UNOSOM II in Somalia and, in that context, to undertake an in-depth consideration of its humanitarian, political and security activities on the basis of the concrete suggestions to be submitted by the Secretary-General as requested in resolution 865 (1993),

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Decides to extend UNOSOM II's mandate for an interim period terminating on 18 November 1993;

2. Requests the Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council concerning the further extension of UNOSOM II's mandate which should be submitted in good time before 18 November 1993, to report also on recent developments in Somalia in order to enable the Council to take appropriate decisions;

3. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 885 (1993)
16 November 1993

Adopted, as orally revised, by unanimous vote.
Sponsor: the United States of America.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming resolutions 733 (1992), 746 (1992), 751 (1992), 767 (1992), 775 (1992), 794 (1992), 814 (1993), 837 (1993), 865 (1993), and 878 (1993),

Also reaffirming resolution 868 (1993) on the need to ensure the safety and protection of United Nations personnel,

Recognizing the critical need for broadbased consultations among all parties and consensus on basic principles to achieve national reconciliation and the establishment of democratic institutions in Somalia,

Stressing that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving these objectives and in this context ***noting*** in particular resolution 837 (1993) which condemned the 5 June 1993 attack on UNOSOM II personnel and called for an investigation,

Noting further proposals made by Member States, in particular from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), including those in document S/26627, which recommended the establishment of an impartial Commission of Inquiry to investigate armed attacks on UNOSOM II,

Having received and considered the reports of the Secretary-General (S/26022 and S/26351) on the implementation of resolution 837 (1993),

1. Authorizes the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry, in further implementation of resolutions 814 (1993) and 837 (1993), to investigate armed attacks on UNOSOM II personnel which led to casualties among them;

2. Requests the Secretary-General, having conveyed his views to the Security Council, to appoint the Commission at the earliest possible time, and to report to the Council on the establishment of the Commission;

3. Directs the Commission to determine procedures for carrying out its investigation taking into account standard United Nations procedures;

4. Notes that members of the Commission will have the status of experts on mission within the meaning of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, which shall apply to the Commission;

5. Urges the Secretary-General to provide the Commission with all assistance necessary to facilitate its work;

6. Calls on all parties in Somalia fully to cooperate with the Commission;

7. Requests the Commission to report its findings through the Secretary-General to the Security Council as soon as possible, taking into consideration the need for a thorough inquiry;

8. Requests that the Secretary-General, under his authority in resolutions 814 (1993) and 837 (1993), pending completion of the report of the Commission, suspend arrest actions against those individuals who might be implicated but are not currently detained pursuant to resolution 837 (1993), and make appropriate provision to deal with the situation of those already detained under the provisions of resolution 837 (1993);

9. Decides to remain seized of this matter.

RESOLUTION 886 (1993)

18 November 1993

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 12 November 1993 (S/26738),

Noting the significant improvement in the situation in most areas of Somalia achieved by the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) as described in that report,

Noting also paragraph 72 of the report of the Secretary-General (S/26738),

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and reconstruction of their own country,

Stressing the commitment of the international community to continue helping Somalia in its efforts to accelerate the process of national reconstruction and to promote stability, rehabilitation and political reconciliation and to regain a normal, peaceful life,

Recalling that the highest priority of UNOSOM II continues to be to support the efforts of the Somali people in promoting the process of national reconciliation and the establishment of democratic institutions,

Affirming that the General Agreement signed in Addis Ababa on 8 January 1993 and the Addis Ababa Agreement of the First Session of the Conference on National Reconciliation in Somalia signed on 27 March 1993, establish a sound basis for resolution of the problems in Somalia,

Emphasizing also in this context, the crucial importance of disarmament in achieving lasting peace and stability throughout Somalia,

Condemning the continuing acts of violence and armed attacks against persons engaged in humanitarian and peace-keeping efforts and ***paying tribute*** to those troops and humanitarian personnel of several countries who have been killed or injured while serving in Somalia,

Determining that the situation in Somalia continues to threaten peace and security in the region,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General (S/26738);

2. Commends the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of UNOSOM II for their achievements in improving the conditions of the Somali people and in promoting the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction of the country;

3. Decides, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to renew the mandate of UNOSOM II for an additional period expiring on 31 May 1994;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by 15 January 1994, or at any time before that if the situation warrants, on the progress made in achieving national reconciliation by the Somali people and that made in the attainment of political, security and humanitarian goals, and ***further requests*** the Secretary-General, as part of that report, to provide an updated plan setting out UNOSOM II's future concerted strategy with regard to its humanitarian, political and security activities;

5. Decides to undertake a fundamental review of the mandate of UNOSOM II by 1 February 1994 in light of the report of the Secretary-General and his updated plan;

6. Urges all parties in Somalia, including movements and factions, to accelerate their efforts to achieve political reconciliation, peace and security, and immediately to abide by the cease-fire and disarmament agreements reached in Addis Ababa, particularly the immediate cantonment of all heavy weapons;

7. Underscores the importance of the Somali people attaining specific goals in the context of political reconciliation, in particular the early establishment and effective functioning of all district and regional councils and an interim national authority;

8. Stresses in this regard the importance it attaches to the accelerated implementation by the Somali people, with the assistance of the United Nations and donor countries, of the recommendations contained in annex I of the Secretary-General's report of 17 August 1993 (S/26317) and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 865 (1993), and in particular the establishment of an operational police, penal and judiciary system at the regional and district level as soon as feasible;

9. Reminds all parties in Somalia, including movements and factions, that continued United Nations involvement in Somalia depends on their active cooperation and tangible progress towards a political settlement;

10. Welcomes and supports the ongoing diplomatic efforts being made by Member States and international organizations, in particular those in the region, to assist United Nations efforts to bring all parties in Somalia, including movements and factions, to the negotiating table;

11. Reaffirms the obligations of States to implement fully the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia imposed by paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992);

12. Expresses concern at the destabilizing effects of cross-border arms flows in the region, ***affirms*** the importance it attaches to the security of the countries neighbouring Somalia and ***calls for*** the cessation of such arms flows;

13. Welcomes the fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia to be convened in Addis Ababa from 29 November to 1 December 1993;

14. Emphasizes the relationship between national rehabilitation and progress in the process of national reconciliation in Somalia, and ***encourages*** donor countries to make contributions to Somalia's rehabilitation as demonstrable political progress occurs, and in particular to contribute urgently to rehabilitation projects in those regions where progress on political reconciliation and security has been made;

15. Expresses its appreciation to those Member States which have contributed to or provided logistical or other assistance to UNOSOM II or offered to do so, and ***encourages*** those who are in a position to do so to contribute, on an urgent basis, troops, equipment, financial and logistical support to enhance UNOSOM II's capability to carry out its mandate and to ensure the safety of the personnel;

16. Requests the Secretary-General to ask the Somalia Trust Fund Committee to review claims and make payments on an urgent basis and ***urges*** Member States to make funds available directly or through the Somalia Trust Fund for priority projects, including the re-establishment of the Somali police and demining, on an urgent basis;

17. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 897 (1994)
4 February 1994

Adopted, as orally revised, by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

Reaffirming the decision taken in resolution 886 (1993) of 18 November 1993 to continue UNOSOM II up to 31 May 1994,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 6 January 1994 (S/1994/12),

Stressing the importance the Council attaches to the Somali parties fulfilling in good faith all obligations and agreements to which they commit themselves, and ***affirming*** once again that the General Agreement signed in Addis Ababa on 8 January 1993 and the Addis Ababa Agreement of the First Session of the Conference on National Reconciliation in Somalia signed on 27 March 1993 ("the Addis Ababa Agreements") constitute the basis for the resolution of the problems in Somalia,

Bearing in mind respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and ***recognizing*** that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for setting up viable national political institutions and for reconstructing their country,

Expressing serious concern at reports that Somali factions are re-arming and that a troop build-up is taking place in some regions of Somalia,

Condemning the continued incidents in Somalia of fighting and banditry and in particular condemning violence and armed attacks against persons engaged in humanitarian and peace-keeping efforts,

Emphasizing the crucial importance of disarmament by all parties in achieving lasting peace and stability in Somalia,

Paying tribute to the peace-keepers and humanitarian personnel of several countries killed or injured while serving in Somalia and, in this context, ***re-emphasizing*** the importance the Council attaches to the safety and security of United Nations and other personnel engaged in humanitarian relief and peace-keeping throughout Somalia,

Affirming the importance of establishing, by the Somali people, of representative district and regional councils and of a transitional national council, as well as the importance of a re-established police force and a judicial system for the restoration of public order throughout Somalia,

Welcoming the efforts made at the Fourth Humanitarian Conference at Addis Ababa and ***reaffirming*** the commitment of the international community to assist the Somali people to attain political reconciliation and reconstruction,

Welcoming also political contacts and consultations between representatives of various parties in Somalia with a view to finding solutions to outstanding matters and disputes among them and promoting the process of political reconciliation,

Commending and supporting the ongoing diplomatic efforts being made by international and regional organizations and Member States, in particular those in the region, to assist United Nations efforts to persuade Somali parties to reach a political settlement,

Reaffirming the objective that UNOSOM II complete its mission by March 1995,

Determining that the situation in Somalia continues to threaten peace and security and having regard to the exceptional circumstances, including in particular absence of a government in Somalia, and ***acting*** under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/12);

2. Approves the Secretary-General's recommendation for the continuation of UNOSOM II, as set out in particular in paragraph 57 of his report, with a revised mandate for the following:

(a) Encouraging and assisting the Somali parties in implementing the "Addis Ababa Agreements", in particular in their cooperative efforts to achieve disarmament and to respect the cease-fire;

(b) Protecting major ports and airports and essential infrastructure and safeguarding the lines of communications vital to the provision of humanitarian relief and reconstruction assistance;

(c) Continuing its efforts to provide humanitarian relief to all in need throughout the country;

(d) Assisting in the reorganization of the Somali police and judicial system;

(e) Helping with the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons;

(f) Assisting also in the ongoing political process in Somalia, which should culminate in the installation of a democratically elected government;

(g) Providing protection for the personnel, installations and equipment of the United Nations and its agencies, as well as of non-governmental organizations providing humanitarian relief and reconstruction assistance;

3. Authorizes the gradual reduction of UNOSOM II to a force level of up to 22,000, and necessary support elements, such force level to be reviewed at the next renewal of the mandate;

4. Underlines, in this context, the vital importance of placing at the disposal of UNOSOM II the necessary material means and military assets required to enable it to discharge its responsibilities in an effective manner as well as effectively to defend its personnel in case of armed attack;

5. Approves also giving priority to directing international reconstruction resources to those regions where security is being re-established and to local Somali institutions which are prepared to cooperate with the international community in setting development priorities in accordance with the Declaration of the Fourth Humanitarian Conference in Addis Ababa as set forth in paragraphs 23 and 24 of the Secretary-General's report;

6. Underlines the importance that the Council attaches to demining and ***requests*** the Secretary-General to make arrangements to ensure the start of demining operations as soon as possible wherever conditions permit;

7. Calls upon all parties in Somalia to cooperate fully with UNOSOM II and respect the cease-fire arrangements and other commitments entered into by them;

8. Demands that all Somali parties refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against personnel engaged in humanitarian or peace-keeping work in Somalia;

9. Reaffirms the obligations of States to implement fully the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia imposed by paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992);

10. Commends the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of UNOSOM II for their efforts in improving the conditions of the Somali people and in encouraging the process of political reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction;

11. Expresses its appreciation to those Member States which have contributed troops or provided logistical or other assistance to UNOSOM II or have offered to do so, and ***encourages*** those who are in a position to do so to contribute, on an urgent basis, troops, civilian personnel, equipment, and financial and logistical support so as to enhance UNOSOM II's capability to carry out its mandate;

12. Expresses also its appreciation to those States which have contributed humanitarian assistance or have supported the Somali Justice Programmes and encourages further such contributions on an urgent basis;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to consider, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, establishing contacts with the Somali parties with the view to arriving at an agreed timetable for implementing the "Addis Ababa Agreements" including the objective of completing the process by March 1995;

14. Further requests the Secretary-General to submit to it, as soon as the situation warrants, and in any case in good time before 31 May 1994, a report on the situation in Somalia and the implementation of this resolution;

15. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 923 (1994)
31 May 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 24 May 1994 (S/1994/614),

Reaffirming the commitment of the international community to assisting the Somali people to attain political reconciliation and reconstruction,

Emphasizing in this context that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving national reconciliation and for rebuilding their country,

Stressing the importance the Council attaches to the Somali parties working seriously to achieve peace and national reconciliation in their country and to their fulfilling in good faith all obligations and agreements to which they commit themselves,

Welcoming the Declaration of the Leaders of the Somali Political Organizations signed in Nairobi, Kenya, on 24 March 1994 (S/1994/614, annex I), which, *inter alia*, committed the Somali parties to restore peace throughout Somalia, to set up rules and procedures of voting and criteria of participation in the national reconciliation conference, to convene a national reconciliation conference to elect a President, Vice-Presidents, and to appoint a Prime Minister, to complete and review the formation of local authorities, and to establish an independent judiciary,

Welcoming also the Lower Juba regional conference,

Concerned none the less at the delays in the reconciliation process, and at the deterioration in the security situation,

Condemning the continuing incidents of fighting and banditry and, in particular, violence and armed attacks against persons engaged in humanitarian and peacekeeping efforts,

Paying tribute to those troops and humanitarian personnel of several countries who have been killed or injured while serving in Somalia,

Re-emphasizing the importance the Council attaches to the safety and security of United Nations and other personnel engaged in humanitarian relief and peacekeeping throughout Somalia,

Paying tribute to the humanitarian work being undertaken by United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations in difficult conditions to assist the people of Somalia,

Taking note that all Somali leaders have appealed to UNOSOM II to continue supporting their reconciliation and rehabilitation efforts,

Reaffirming the objective that UNOSOM II complete its mission by March 1995,

Determining that the situation in Somalia continues to threaten peace and security and having regard to the exceptional circumstances, including in particular the absence of a government in Somalia, and ***acting*** under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/614);

2. Decides to renew the mandate of UNOSOM II for an additional period expiring on 30 September 1994, subject to a review by the Council no later than 29 July 1994 based on a report by the Secretary-General on the humanitarian mission carried out by UNOSOM and on the political and security situation in Somalia and progress made in achieving national reconciliation, in the light of which report and review the Security Council may request the Secretary-General to prepare options regarding UNOSOM's mandate and future operations;

3. Commends the Secretary-General, his Acting Special Representative and the personnel of UNOSOM II

for their efforts towards improving the conditions of the Somali people and in encouraging the process of political reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction;

4. Strongly urges all parties in Somalia to cooperate fully with UNOSOM II, to carry out the commitments and implement the agreements which they have signed including those relating to the voluntary disarmament, and to pursue without further delay the negotiations aimed at achieving national reconciliation;

5. Demands that all parties in Somalia refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against personnel engaged in humanitarian or peace-keeping work in the country;

6. Reaffirms the obligations of States to implement fully the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia imposed by paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992);

7. Further welcomes the progress made by UNOSOM II in establishing the justice and police programmes and ***calls*** for their acceleration;

8. Expresses its appreciation to those Member States which have contributed troops or provided logistical or other assistance to UNOSOM II or have offered to do so, and ***underlines***, in this context, the continuing importance of UNOSOM II having at its disposal the necessary troops, civilian personnel, equipment and financial and logistic support to carry out its mandate effectively;

9. Expresses its appreciation to those Member States which have extended humanitarian assistance or have supported the Somali justice and police programmes and ***encourages*** further such contributions on an urgent basis;

10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
25 August 1994

At the 3418th meeting of the Security Council, held on 25 August 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Somalia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council takes note of the Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on Somalia (S/1994/977) and briefings by the Secretariat.

The Security Council, appalled by the killing near Baidoa on 22 August of seven Indian soldiers and the wounding of nine more serving with UNOSOM II, strongly condemns the premeditated attack on United Nations peace-keepers who were providing essential support and assistance to the humanitarian effort of the international community in Somalia carrying out the mandate of the Security Council. The Council expresses its condolences to the Government of India and the families of the soldiers who made the ultimate sacrifice in assisting the people of Somalia.

The Council expresses grave concern regarding the deteriorating security situation in Somalia and deplores attacks and harassment directed against UNOSOM II and other international personnel serving in Somalia.

The Council considers that a durable political settlement remains an indispensable prerequisite for restoring peace and security, re-establishing central governmental structures and services and commencing the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction of the economic and social fabric in Somalia.

The Council is gravely concerned by the lack of progress in reconciliation among Somali factions. It is particularly concerned by the fact that the national reconciliation conference, to which the 15 signatories of the Addis Ababa Agreement had agreed in Nairobi on 24 March 1994 and which was scheduled for 15 May 1994, has not taken place. The Council commends the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to reinvigorate the process of national reconciliation, including through the encouragement of local and regional initiatives and conferences. In this regard, it attaches great importance to an accelerated inter-clan reconciliation, in particular,

among the Hawiye sub-clans, with the involvement of all concerned.

The Council stresses that the nature and the duration of the international support and resources the international community is committing to Somalia, including the continuing presence of UNOSOM II, depend very much on the resolve of the Somali parties to achieve political compromise.

The Council reminds the Somali parties that the future of their country lies in their hands and urges them once again to make every effort to advance the process of political reconciliation in Somalia.

The Council believes that the Secretary-General's proposed initial reduction of the UNOSOM II troops is appropriate in the circumstances prevailing in Somalia. It stresses that priority attention should be given to ensuring the safety and security of UNOSOM II and other international personnel, including the staff of non-governmental organizations. In this context, it underlines the responsibility of the Somali parties for the security and safety of these personnel.

The Security Council invites the Secretary-General to submit to the Council well before 30 September 1994 a substantive report on prospects for national reconciliation in Somalia and on the possible options for the future of UNOSOM II.

RESOLUTION 946 (1994)
30 September 1994

Adopted by a vote of 14 in favour, 0 against and 1 abstention (the United States of America).

Sponsors: France, Nigeria, New Zealand, Rwanda, Spain and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992 and all other relevant resolutions,

Recalling further the statement of the President of the Security Council of 25 August 1994 (S/PRST/1994/46),

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 17 September 1994 (S/1994/1068),

Deeply concerned by the deteriorating security environment, ***strongly condemning*** the attacks and harassment against UNOSOM II and other international personnel serving in Somalia and ***underlining*** the responsibility of the Somali parties for the security and safety of these personnel,

Reaffirming that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving national reconciliation and for rebuilding their country,

Stressing that the nature and the duration of the international support and resources the international community is committing to Somalia, including the continuing presence of UNOSOM II, depend very much on the resolve of the Somali parties to achieve political compromise,

Urging, in this context, the Somali parties to redouble their efforts to advance the process of national reconciliation in Somalia,

Noting the intention of the Secretary-General to submit to the Council by mid-October his assessment of the prospects of national reconciliation and recommendations for the future of the United Nations operation in Somalia,

1. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOSOM II for a period of one month expiring 31 October 1994, prior to which the Council will undertake a thorough examination of UNOSOM's mandate with a view to deciding on its future;

2. Encourages the Secretary-General to continue with and intensify preparations of contingency arrangements for the implementation of possible decisions, including withdrawal of UNOSOM II within a specified timeframe, which the Council may take;

3. Declares its readiness to consider sending a mission of the Council to Somalia at the appropriate time in order to convey directly to the Somali political parties the views of the Council on the situation in Somalia and on the future of the United Nations presence there;

4. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 953 (1994)
31 October 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 783 (1992) of 23 January 1992 and all other relevant resolutions,

Recalling further its resolution 946 (1994) of 30 September 1994, in which it, *inter alia*, declared its readiness to consider sending a mission of the Council to Somalia at the appropriate time in order to convey directly to the Somali political parties the views of the Council on the situation in Somalia and on the future of the United Nations presence there,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 14 October 1994 (S/1994/1166),

Having decided, at the consultations held on 20 October 1994, to send a mission to Somalia (S/1994/1194), and ***convinced*** that it should consider the report of this mission before completing its review of the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) and deciding on its future,

1. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOSOM II for an interim period expiring on 4 November 1994;

2. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 954 (1994)
4 November 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992 and all other relevant resolutions,

Noting with appreciation the work of the Security Council's mission in transmitting directly to Somalia's political parties the views of the Council on the situation in Somalia and on the future of the United Nations in that country,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General dated 17 September 1994 (S/1994/1068) and 14 October 1994 (S/1994/1166), and the oral report of the Security Council's mission to Somalia given on 31 October 1994,

Paying tribute to the thousands of personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), and to the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) as well as humanitarian relief personnel who have served in Somalia, and honouring, in particular, those who have sacrificed their lives in this service,

Noting that hundreds of thousands of human lives have been rescued from famine in Somalia through the efforts of the United Nations and the international community,

Commending the efforts of the special representatives of the Secretary-General to bring Somali factions together in national reconciliation,

Reaffirming that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving national reconciliation and bringing peace to Somalia,

Convinced that only a genuinely inclusive approach to political reconciliation would provide for a lasting political settlement and re-emergence of a civil society in Somalia,

Recalling that the date already foreseen for termination of the current United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) is the end of March 1995,

Recognizing that the lack of progress in the Somali peace process and in national reconciliation, in particular the lack of sufficient cooperation from the Somali parties over security issues, has fundamentally undermined the United Nations objectives in Somalia and, in these circumstances, continuation of UNOSOM II beyond March 1995 cannot be justified,

Recognizing further that termination of the mandate of UNOSOM II by the end of March 1995 implies a secure and orderly phasing out of its military component in advance of that date,

Noting the assurances of cooperation and non-interference with such withdrawal received from all Somali parties during the Council's mission to Somalia,

Re-emphasizing the importance the Council attaches to the safety and security of United Nations and other personnel engaged in humanitarian relief and peacekeeping in Somalia,

Underlining particularly, in this context, the overriding need for all possible measures and precautions to be taken to ensure that UNOSOM II does not suffer any casualties in the process of withdrawal,

Emphasizing its willingness to encourage the Secretary-General to sustain a facilitating or mediating political role for Somalia beyond March 1995 if that is what the Somalis want and if the Somali parties are willing to cooperate with the United Nations,

Concerned that the United Nations should continue to work with regional organizations, in particular the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and with the Governments of neighbouring countries to promote reconciliation in Somalia and the re-emergence of a civil society there,

Recognizing also the impact that the situation in Somalia has had on neighbouring countries including, in particular, flows of refugees,

Noting also that the United Nations will do its best to sustain humanitarian activities in Somalia and to encourage non-governmental organizations to do likewise, but that their ability to do so will depend almost entirely on the degree of cooperation and security offered by Somali parties,

Confident of the willingness of the United Nations to remain ready to provide through its various agencies rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance, including assistance to the police and judiciary to the extent that the situation in Somalia develops in such a way as to make that practicable,

Noting further the interest of humanitarian agencies and non-governmental organizations in cooperating with the United Nations after the withdrawal of UNOSOM II in transitional arrangements for mutual assistance,

Determining that the situation in Somalia continues to threaten peace and security, and having regard to the exceptional circumstances including, in particular, the absence of a government in Somalia, ***acting*** under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOSOM II for a final period until 31 March 1995;

2. Affirms that the primary purpose of UNOSOM II until its termination is to facilitate political reconciliation in Somalia;

3. Welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General, expressed in paragraph 23 of his report dated 14 October 1994, to continue throughout the period of the mandate of UNOSOM II, and even afterwards, the efforts of his special representative to help the Somali parties achieve national reconciliation;

4. Urges all Somali factions to negotiate as soon as possible an effective cease-fire and the formation of a transitional government of national unity;

5. Decides that every effort should be made to withdraw all UNOSOM II military forces and assets from Somalia in a secure and orderly manner as soon as possible, as described in the Secretary-General's report dated 14 October 1994, before the expiry date of the current mandate of UNOSOM II and without compromising on the paramount need of ensuring the safety of UNOSOM II personnel;

6.Authorizes UNOSOM II military forces to take those actions necessary to protect the UNOSOM II mission and the withdrawal of UNOSOM II personnel and assets, and, to the extent that the Force Commander

deems it practicable and consistent, in the context of withdrawal, to protect personnel of relief organizations;

7. Emphasizes the responsibility of the Somali parties for the security and safety of UNOSOM II and other personnel engaged in humanitarian activities and in this context strongly demands that all parties in Somalia refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against such personnel;

8. Requests Member States to provide assistance in the withdrawal of all UNOSOM II military forces and assets, including vehicles, weapons, and other equipment;

9. Requests that the Secretary-General keep the Council informed about the progress of the withdrawal process;

10. Invites the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to continue their efforts in cooperation with the United Nations in the search for lasting peace in Somalia;

11. Calls upon all Member States, in particular the neighbouring States, to continue to provide support for all Somali efforts towards genuine peace and national reconciliation and to refrain from any action capable of exacerbating the conflict situation in Somalia;

12. Reiterates the need for the observance and strict monitoring of the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, as decided in paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992) and in this regard ***requests*** the Committee established by resolution 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992 to fulfil its mandate as described in paragraph 11 of that resolution, in particular to seek the cooperation of neighbouring States for the effective implementation of this embargo;

13. Further requests the Secretary-General to continue to monitor the situation in Somalia and to the extent possible to keep the Security Council informed in particular about developments affecting the humanitarian situation, the security situation for humanitarian personnel in Somalia, repatriation of refugees and impacts on neighbouring countries; and to report to the Security Council before 31 March 1995 on the situation in Somalia and to submit suggestions concerning the role that the United Nations could play in Somalia beyond that date;

14. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
6 April 1995

At the 3513th meeting of the Security Council, held on 6 April 1995, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Somalia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council has considered carefully the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia dated 28 March 1995 (S/1995/231) and notes the successful conclusion of the withdrawal of UNOSOM II forces from Somalia. It expresses its appreciation to those Governments and agencies that have provided the personnel, humanitarian assistance and other support to the peace-keeping operation in Somalia, including those Governments which participated in the multinational operation for UNOSOM's withdrawal. It pays tribute in particular to all personnel who sacrificed their lives in this service.

The Security Council underlines that the timely intervention of UNOSOM II and the humanitarian assistance given to Somalia helped to save many lives and much property, mitigate general suffering and contributed to the search for peace in Somalia. The Council notes that, over the past three years, the United Nations and the international community have made significant efforts to restore peace and stability and facilitate the re-emergence of a civil society. However, the continuing lack of progress in the peace process and in national reconciliation, in particular the lack of sufficient cooperation from the Somali parties over security issues, undermined the United Nations objectives in Somalia

and prevented the continuation of UNOSOM II mandate beyond 31 March 1995.

The Security Council believes that the Somalia operation provides important lessons for the theory and practice of peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building.

The Security Council remains convinced that only a genuinely representative and broad-based approach to reconciliation will bring about a lasting political settlement and allow for the re-emergence of a civil society in Somalia. The Council reaffirms, based on its experience in UNOSOM II, that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving national reconciliation and restoring peace to Somalia. The international community can only facilitate, encourage and assist the process, but not try to impose any particular solution on it. The Council, therefore, calls upon the Somali parties to pursue national reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction in the interest of peace, security and development.

The Security Council notes the recent agreements reached between the factions in Mogadishu, especially on the control of sea and airport facilities. It expresses the hope that this encouraging development is indicative of a new spirit of cooperation among the factions and that it will lead to further progress in the search for a lasting peace in Somalia.

The Security Council supports the view of the Secretary-General that Somalia should not be abandoned by the United Nations, which will continue to assist the Somali people to achieve a political settlement and to provide humanitarian and other support services provided that the Somalis themselves demonstrate a disposition to peaceful resolution of the conflict and to cooperation with the international community. It welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to continue a small political mission, should the Somali parties so wish, to assist them in coming together in national reconciliation and looks forward to the report which the Secretary-General has indicated he will forward on this matter. The Council urges close cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, in particular the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), as well as the Governments of neighbouring countries in these efforts. The Council considers it essential that the Somali parties clearly express their acceptance of such assistance and their willingness to cooperate with the United Nations.

The Security Council recognizes that humanitarian assistance in Somalia is an important element in the effort to restore peace and security in the country. It is therefore important to sustain United Nations humanitarian activities in Somalia and to encourage non-governmental organizations to do likewise. However, their ability to do so will depend on the degree of cooperation and security offered by the Somali parties. The Council welcomes the willingness expressed by the international humanitarian agencies and NGOs to continue to provide rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance in areas where security is guaranteed by the Somalis. The Council stresses that the creation of a long-lasting, stable and secure environment throughout the country is vital for the resumption of large-scale activity in these fields.

The Security Council reaffirms the obligations of States to implement fully the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia imposed by paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992), and calls on States, especially neighbouring States, to refrain from actions capable of exacerbating the conflict in Somalia.

The Security Council requests the Secretary-General to continue to monitor the situation in Somalia and to keep it informed about further developments. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

Annex

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA SUBMITTED IN PURSUANCE OF PARAGRAPH 13 OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 954 (1994)

28 March 1995 (S/1995/231)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted in pursuance of resolution 954 (1994) of 4 November 1994, by which the Security Council decided to extend the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for a final period until 31 March 1995. In paragraph 13 of the resolution, the Council requested me to report to it before 31 March 1995 on the situation in Somalia and to submit suggestions concerning the role that the United Nations could play in Somalia beyond that date.

2. The present report covers the political developments since my last report (S/1994/1166) dated 14 October 1994. It includes a general assessment of what has been achieved by the United Nations in Somalia in political, humanitarian, military and security matters and the police and justice programme, as well as financial aspects, followed by a section on the withdrawal of UNOSOM II. The report also presents some thoughts on the role that the United Nations could play in Somalia beyond the conclusion of UNOSOM II's mandate on 31 March 1995.

II. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE LAST REPORT

3. On 14 October 1994, 12 factions and organizations associated with the Somali National Alliance (SNA) announced in a memorandum their decision to convene a national reconciliation conference in Mogadishu on 27 October 1994. They appealed to the leaders of four of the signatories to the Addis Ababa agreement (S/26317) aligned with the Group of 12, namely the Somali Democratic Movement (SDM), the Somali National Front (SNF), the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) and the United Somali Party (USP), to join them in that conference and, *inter alia*, requested UNOSOM II to extend invitations for the conference to the Chairmen of 16 factions and organizations listed in the memorandum. These 16 factions included splinter groups from the Somali African Muki Organization (SAMO), the Somali National Union (SNU) and the Southern Somali National Movement (SSNM), which have no official standing within the context of either the Addis Ababa agreement or the Nairobi declaration (S/1994/614, annex I).

4. Following the publication of the memorandum of 14 October 1994, my Special Representative urged all Somali leaders to intensify their consultations in order to facilitate the convening of a broad-based or all-inclusive national reconciliation conference, which would include the representatives of all the recognized factions from the two sides, namely the SNA and the Group of 12.

5. On 17 October 1994, the Group of 12 addressed an appeal to the SNA for the two sides to come together in a broad-based conference with the participation of all signatories to the Addis Ababa agreement and the SNM. The Group of 12 adopted a charter on 23 October 1994 by which it officially reconstituted itself into the Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA), an umbrella organization of 14 factions and organizations originally formed in February 1994. Mr. Ali Mahdi was elected Chairman of the Alliance.

6. Despite the intensive contacts and informal consultations that followed, the two sides did not succeed in reaching agreement on the convening of an all-inclusive conference. Consequently, my Special Representative appealed to the SNA factions to postpone the convening of their conference in order to allow more time for consultations with the SSA. On 26 October 1994, the SNA factions announced the postponement of the convening of their conference to 1 November 1994 in deference to the impending visit of the Security Council mission to Somalia.

7. The Security Council mission, led by H.E. Mr. Colin Keating, Permanent Representative of New Zealand, visited Somalia from 26 to 27 October 1994 and met with the leaders of the SSA and the SNA factions and organizations respectively to convey to them the special message from the Security Council on the situation in Somalia and on the future of the United Nations presence there (see S/1994/1245, annex II).

8. On 1 November 1994, however, the SNA factions convened their unilateral conference in south Mogadishu with a view to establishing an interim Government within 45 days. On the same day, my Special Representative issued a statement in which he pointed out that the unilateral decision of the SNA factions to hold their own conference was contrary to the understanding reached between them and all other concerned factions that invitations for a national reconciliation conference would be extended by UNOSOM II to the leaders of recognized factions, after the completion of the necessary consultations. On this basis, my Special Representative declined an invitation to attend the SNA-sponsored unilateral conference in an observer capacity. From that point on, there was a rift between General Aidid and my Special Representative, who continued to take the position that the national reconciliation conference must be all-inclusive and that the United Nations would not be in a position to support a partisan Government.

9. Mr. Ali Mahdi, on his part, convened a parallel meeting of SSA leaders in north Mogadishu to prepare their response to the anticipated announcement of an interim Government by the SNA-sponsored conference. On 3 November 1994, the SSA leaders informed my Special Representative that they had completed contingency plans to establish their own national Government in the event that the SNA-sponsored conference unilaterally announced an interim Government. They also expressed the view that the SNA-sponsored conference contravened all agreements previously reached among the recognized factions and reiterated their position that the solution to the Somali crisis could come only from a national reconciliation conference with the participation of all recognized political organizations and all strata of Somali society, including traditional chiefs and elders, religious leaders, intellectuals, and women.

10. My Special Representative continued to emphasize to both sides the need to have a genuine all-inclusive and broad-based conference, and offered facilities at UNOSOM II headquarters for the SSA and the SNA factions to hold further consultations aimed at reaching agreement to this end. He warned both sides that UNOSOM II would extend the necessary assistance only for such a conference.

11. The SSA and the SNA factions eventually appointed six representatives each, who held a series of meetings in south Mogadishu from 4 to 8 November 1994 to discuss substantive issues relating to the convening of a national reconciliation conference, including the question of a preparatory meeting. The meetings, however, resulted in a stalemate. Subsequently, in further efforts to break this deadlock, UNOSOM II facilitated two meetings at its headquarters between Mr. Ali Mahdi and Col. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, Chairman of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), who had been mandated by the SNA factions and organizations to discuss on their behalf the convening of an all-inclusive conference with the SSA. At the request of both the SNA and the SSA, UNOSOM II also arranged for General Mohamed Said Hersi "Morgan", Vice-Chairman of SPM/SSA, to travel from Kismayo to Mogadishu for consultations. While in

Mogadishu, General Morgan met separately with Mr. Ali Mahdi and the SSA factions and with Col. Abdullahi Yusuf in an effort to reconcile the SSA and the SNA factions. Other faction leaders from the two sides held meetings at UNOSOM II headquarters with a view to facilitating agreement between them.

12. These efforts did not yield any further progress and, by the beginning of December 1994, the parallel SNA conference and the SSA meeting were indicating their intentions to announce their separate Governments. These potentially destabilizing moves have not so far materialized and the SNA conference and the SSA meeting are still in session. Their discussions have reportedly focused on the nature of a federal system of government, the powers of the central Government *vis-à-vis* regional authorities, the distribution of government posts and the drafting of a transitional charter. It was also reported that the four committees established at the opening of the SNA-sponsored conference to deal with reconciliation, rehabilitation, security and drafting of a charter respectively had completed their work.

13. My Special Representative visited Addis Ababa on 29 December 1994 to meet with President Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia and discuss ways of bringing Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Aidid together to resolve their differences over the convening of a genuine national reconciliation conference. President Meles Zenawi has been acting under the mandate of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). Following these discussions, the President of Ethiopia sent a fact-finding mission to Somalia at the beginning of January 1995, which maintained close contact with my Special Representative. Subsequently, at the beginning of March 1995, President Meles Zenawi dispatched to Somalia a delegation of ethnic Somali leaders from Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti in order to persuade political and traditional leaders throughout the country to come together and work for national reconciliation.

14. Also in December 1994, a delegation of the League of Arab States (LAS) visited Somalia and met with the SSA and the SNA factions to assist in expediting the process of national reconciliation. Subsequently, LAS, jointly with OAU and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), held a meeting on Somalia in Cairo on 22 and 23 February 1995 at which the United Nations participated as an observer. The participating organizations agreed on the need to continue and intensify joint efforts to assist the Somalis in reaching national reconciliation as soon as possible. To that end, they decided to send a joint mission to Addis Ababa to hold consultations with the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution at a date to be determined.

15. Meanwhile, contacts between the SSA and the SNA factions continued through January and February 1995 to discuss new initiatives offered by both sides to break the political impasse. On 6 February, the SSA formally presented its plan of action, which is a proposal for national reconciliation in Somalia. The proposal called for the convening of a unified and all-inclusive national reconciliation conference on 25 February 1995 or any other agreed date, which would include representatives from the SSA, SNA, SNM and Mr. Egal's alliance from the north-west, as well as traditional chiefs and elders, religious leaders, intellectuals and women. The United Nations would play a mediatory and supportive role in the preparation and convening of the conference. In a press conference on that occasion, Mr. Ali Mahdi stressed that the SSA plan of action was merely a proposal that was subject to modification. Expressing the hope that the SNA would react favourably to the proposal, he stressed that no one political faction or alliance could form a Government of national unity.

16. In the weeks preceding the withdrawal of UNOSOM II, my Special Representative held discussions, initiated in January 1994 and continued since then, with the SNA and the SSA to urge them to form joint committees to manage the operations of the

Mogadishu seaport and airport. In January 1995, the SSA and the SNA succeeded in establishing a negotiating committee. Following the announcement of the SSA plan of action, the SNA-SSA negotiating committee was given a wider mandate to coordinate political and economic matters relating to reconciliation among the Habr Gedir and Mudulood clans, work out modalities for bringing General Aidid and Mr. Ali Mahdi together and merge the two separate conferences/meetings on national reconciliation sponsored by the SNA and the SSA respectively.

17. On 19 February 1995, Mr. Ali Mahdi and Mr. Osman Hassan Ali "Atto", a high-ranking official of the SNA, had a meeting that led to significant political developments during the last two weeks of UNOSOM II's withdrawal. On 21 February 1995, a peace agreement was signed by General Aidid and Mr. Ali Mahdi on behalf of the SNA and the SSA respectively to promote national reconciliation and a peaceful settlement. In that agreement, the two sides, *inter alia*, accepted the principle of power-sharing; pledged not to seek the presidency through military means but through democratic elections; agreed to the resolution of disputes through dialogue and peaceful means; and agreed on a common platform for tackling problems. It also included provisions for the confinement of "technicals" to designated areas and discouraged the open carrying of arms in the streets of Mogadishu. In addition, it called for the removal of roadblocks and the reopening of the main markets in the city.

18. In another significant development, on 23 February 1995, the two sides reached agreement on the establishment of two joint committees to manage the operations of the Mogadishu airport and seaport. This agreement was endorsed by General Aidid and Mr. Ali Mahdi. It provides a basis for cooperation between the Somali parties and organizations within the United Nations system. UNOSOM II and the United Nations agencies have committed themselves to provide assistance to the two committees. The Mogadishu seaport was reopened to civilian traffic on 9 March under the administration of the joint committees of the SSA and the SNA. The reopening of the seaport resulted from the signing of a third agreement between Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Aidid on 5 March 1995. This agreement allowed for the resumption of operations at the seaport in view of the need to offload ships and dhows carrying badly needed commodities. On 8 March, the two leaders initialled a fourth agreement to establish a security committee comprising militia and police officers from both sides. The security committee would ensure the exclusion of unauthorized "technicals" from the airport and seaport and arrange for the police force to provide security inside these facilities, while joint militias with specially marked "technicals" would secure the outer perimeters as well as the routes used to deliver commodities to the markets.

19. My Special Representative has extended an invitation to the chairmen of the two committees to visit Nairobi for consultations with the United Nations Coordination Team (UNCT) (see para. 35 below) in order to discuss arrangements for reactivating civilian operations at the airport and seaport. One subject to be discussed is the return to Mogadishu of the equipment for operating the seaport and airport facilities, without which only small ships can be serviced. This equipment, currently stored in the United Nations logistics base in Brindisi, Italy, will be returned to Mogadishu when conditions permit. In the meantime, I agreed provisionally with the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) that it would continue to act in civil aviation matters with regard to Somalia, pending further guidance from the Council and/or the re-establishment of governmental authority in Somalia.

20. The signing of these agreements has had a salutary effect on the political process as a whole, with both the SNA and the SSA emphasizing that there will be no more war between them. My Special Representative has reported that, on the basis of the agreements reached, the SNA and the SSA militias are presently collaborating in providing security at the Mogadishu airport and seaport in cooperation with the Somali

police force. As a result of these agreements and arrangements, the situation in Mogadishu has improved, and it is understood that both sides have now settled down to serious discussions on the convening of a broad-based national reconciliation conference. Also on their agenda are the establishment of a regional council and the appointment of a governor for the Benadir region (Mogadishu).

21. During the reporting period, UNOSOM II continued to encourage and assist the Somali people to establish district councils. On 20 November 1994, it certified the district council for the city of Kismayo, bringing the number of district councils to 58 out of a total of approximately 92. In addition, 8 out of a total of 18 regional councils have also been established. There is continued interest in the formation of district and regional councils. In recognition of their importance, I authorized UNOSOM II, during its withdrawal phase, to donate to them some essential equipment, including generators, water pumps, office equipment and furniture. In Mogadishu, I also approved the donation of four generators in order to facilitate the continued provision of potable water to the city and its surrounding villages. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has agreed in principle to support institution-building in Somalia in the post–UNOSOM II era and to extend necessary assistance to the regional and district councils to strengthen their capacity for local government and administration. UNDP is currently discussing funding arrangements in regard to assistance to these councils with interested donors, including the Life and Peace Institute of Sweden.

III. ASSESSMENT OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN SOMALIA

A. POLITICAL ASPECTS

22. From the beginning of the United Nations involvement in Somalia, the attainment of cease-fires and the promotion of national reconciliation have been among the Organization's major goals. To help to achieve national reconciliation, two major conferences were held with the assistance and support of the United Nations, namely the National Reconciliation Conference in March 1993, which yielded the Addis Ababa agreement, and the consultations in Nairobi in March 1994, which led to the Nairobi declaration. There was significant representation of the civil society of Somalia at each of these major conferences. More than 250 representatives of community organizations, elders, scholars, as well as women's groups, participated in the Addis Ababa Conference, while a significant number of elders was present at the consultations in Nairobi. Although the implementation of these agreements has been forestalled by subsequent developments, the two agreements continue to serve as the major frame of reference in the Somali parties' discussions of a political settlement.

23. The United Nations has also sponsored interclan reconciliation meetings at the local level. These include the Jubaland Peace Conference in June and August 1993, the Garowe Peace and Cooperation Conference in December 1993, the Digil/Merifle-Rahanweyn-Aulihan Conference in Bardera in February 1994, the Lower Juba Region Reconciliation Conference in June 1994 and the Absame Reconciliation Conference from June to July 1994. These conferences, and the agreements that resulted from them, have significantly contributed to the prevention of interclan fighting, largely limiting the area of conflict to south Mogadishu.

24. The United Nations has also helped to arrange a series of cease-fires, starting in February 1992, when the consultations that I had convened with the representatives of Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Aidid yielded the first cease-fire agreement in Mogadishu. That cease-fire was expanded into a nationwide cease-fire in January 1993. When a resumption of fighting in Kismayo threatened the relative peace in the Lower Juba area in February 1994, my Acting Special Representative was instrumental in re-establishing the cease-fire. He also used the occasion to bring the numerous parties

concerned to intensive consultations in Nairobi, which led to the Nairobi declaration in March 1994. More recently, my Special Representative has worked closely with prominent elders to mitigate the sporadic, but at times intense, interclan fighting that resumed in south Mogadishu in June 1994. Combined with the stabilizing effect of the peace-keeping force, these efforts have contributed greatly to the achievement and maintenance of relative peace in Somalia as a whole.

25. As already mentioned, UNOSOM II has certified 58 district councils to date, including the 2 district councils in the Sanaag region in the north-west, which were formed in response to the wishes of the people there. It has also certified 8 regional councils out of a total of 18. UNOSOM II, in collaboration with the Life and Peace Institute, has given assistance to district and regional councils by refurbishing or rebuilding their offices and providing them with administrative kits and equipment, as well as by organizing seminars for district and regional counsellors in administration and management. In addition, the Life and Peace Institute has assisted district and regional councils through food-for-work projects. The SNA's opposition to the formation of these councils, however, has prevented the creation of the Transitional National Council (TNC), which the Addis Ababa agreement envisaged would be formed from the representatives of the district and regional councils. It is hoped that these councils will be able to function as partners of the international community in rehabilitation and development when security permits.

B. HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS

26. By 1992 Somalia was a devastated country. The magnitude of human suffering was overwhelming as hundreds of thousands of lives were lost as a result of civil war, drought and famine. In the famine zones, approximately one third of all Somali children under the age of five died from starvation and diseases related to malnutrition. Out of a total estimated population of 8 million Somalis, 4.5 million lives were at risk, including 1 million children. Farms were destroyed, livestock killed, food harvests burned and homes razed to the ground. Some 2 million persons had been violently displaced from their home areas and fled either to neighbouring countries or elsewhere within Somalia. Towns and cities were plunged into a nightmare of insecurity. All institutions of governance, and at least 60 per cent of the country's basic infrastructure, had disintegrated.

27. Despite these conditions of anarchy and extreme insecurity, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) determinedly maintained a continuous presence in the country, providing humanitarian relief to hundreds of thousands of Somalis. Although the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) — already present in the north of Somalia — recommenced operations in Mogadishu in December 1991 and was joined three months later by the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations involvement in the delivery of humanitarian assistance began in earnest in mid-1992. Through the combined efforts of the United Nations, ICRC and NGOs, humanitarian assistance programmes expanded and over a quarter of a million lives are estimated to have been saved during the famine emergency, while millions of Somalis were able to benefit from humanitarian relief.

28. Since then, the humanitarian situation in Somalia has changed dramatically in a number of respects. Drought conditions, which were particularly acute in 1992 and 1993, have improved considerably. In 1994, the April–June *Gu* (short rain) season harvest was very successful and reached close to 75 per cent of pre-war production of basic cereals, while the September–January *Der* (long rain) harvest exceeded pre-war levels. The timely provision of food and non-food relief through the humanitarian assistance programme also contributed significantly to the prevention of a new famine emergency. At the height of the famine between 1992 and 1993, WFP delivered an average of 35,000 tons of food per month to approximately 1.5 million Somalis. By the end of 1994, food-for-work

schemes had replaced free distribution as the main mode for delivery of food assistance, and the number of direct recipients of relief assistance from WFP dropped to around 21,000 people per month, with a further 280,000 Somalis benefiting from food-for-work schemes. By December 1994, WFP was delivering up to 6,000 tons of food monthly and in 1995 it plans to channel around 10,000 tons of food into Somalia each month. WFP intends to use its food resources as an incentive to encourage Somalis to participate in a variety of institutional rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes, while continuing to provide supplementary feeding assistance and food to vulnerable groups when necessary.

29. Since the start of the relief and emergency programmes of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in 1992, vegetable and cereal seeds, farm tools and pesticides have been successfully distributed to around 300,000 destitute farmers and their families. More recently, the efforts of humanitarian organizations in the areas of agriculture and fisheries have focused mostly on sustainable agricultural and rural development under the direction of FAO. United Nations agencies and NGOs have worked to resuscitate Somalia's agricultural production by assisting in the rehabilitation of agricultural infrastructure and capacity-building. A UNICEF-supported project in southern Somalia provided seeds and tools to support the resettlement of 60,000 displaced farmers. In 1994, FAO provided targeted community assistance in agriculture and livestock to approximately 80,000 farming families, moving away from large-scale distribution of seeds and tools. The provision of veterinary drugs and the vaccination of animals by FAO and NGOs has led to a reactivation of exports, with an estimated total of around 500,000 livestock having been exported since 1993.

30. Up to 1.5 million Somalis, or roughly 25 per cent of the total population, were displaced inside Somalia or in neighbouring countries between 1991 and mid-1993. Of this number, a total of 121,630 refugees and 45,327 internally displaced persons have been successfully reintegrated into their home areas with the assistance of the United Nations agencies, national and international NGOs, ICRC and the Intergovernmental Organization for Migration (IOM). As conditions in their home areas improved, a further 80,430 refugees have returned to Somalia spontaneously. Approximately 500,000 Somali refugees remain in neighbouring countries. While the numbers of internally displaced persons registering to return home doubled from 71,000 in June 1994 to over 150,000 in December 1994, there are still 350,000 internally displaced persons, almost half of whom are in Mogadishu.

31. Between 1992 and 1995, UNICEF and its NGO partners vaccinated well over 1 million Somali children and women against diseases such as measles, tuberculosis and tetanus. Since 1992, UNICEF has provided supplementary food and other assistance for approximately 600,000 beneficiaries. These include, since May 1993, an average of 65,000 vulnerable children and women per month, as compared to 168,000 in January 1993. These figures, considerably lower than those prior to May 1993, reflect generally improved food availability in much of central and southern Somalia. Access by the Somali population to health services and facilities has improved greatly. The factors contributing to this development include the continuing distribution by the World Health Organization (WHO) of essential drugs and medical supplies to cover the needs of some 2.2 million Somalis since 1992, as well as the availability, under the auspices of UNICEF and WHO, of the skilled services of an additional 1,800 professional health workers who have been trained and technically supervised in emergency preparedness, health planning and management, and in the diagnosis and treatment of malaria, tuberculosis, cholera and other illnesses. WHO provided basic drugs and medical equipment to 11 hospitals, 113 national NGOs and 46 international NGOs working in the health sector. Logistical support and other assistance is being provided by UNICEF for the rehabilitation of the public

health infrastructure, including some 450 health posts, centres and hospitals.

32. Between 1991 and 1992 the lack of access to potable water resulted in devastatingly high rates of mortality and morbidity from diarrhoeal diseases. Since June 1992, UNDP has operated the Afgoy well-field which provides piped water to over 1 million residents of Mogadishu and which has been rehabilitated to 40 per cent of its pre-war efficiency, a factor that has contributed greatly to preventing the spread of large-scale epidemics caused by contaminated water from shallow wells. Agencies estimate that the cholera epidemic that struck various parts of Somalia during the early months of 1994 caused 1,349 deaths out of a reported total of 34,789 cases. This epidemic would have wrought much greater devastation in the absence of a functioning water supply system. WHO has established laboratories in Somalia for water-testing and for the diagnosis of cholera and other epidemics. Over the past three years, UNICEF has assisted in the reactivation of 8 urban water supply systems, the chlorination of more than 1,200 water sources daily during the cholera epidemic and the construction of 380 wells and 12 boreholes, thereby increasing access to potable water to over 1.5 million people in Somalia.

33. Similar developments have taken place in the field of education. Since January 1993, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has catered for the educational needs of more than 250,000 children through the reintroduction of a standardized curriculum, the provision of more than 1 million textbooks and teacher guides. UNESCO has also provided teacher training for 267 schools with a total student population of over 150,000. UNICEF, in conjunction with UNESCO, has trained 550 primary school teachers throughout Somalia. Access to education for Somalis has expanded through UNESCO's teacher emergency packages, developed for use in rural areas and in refugee and internally displaced person camps where school buildings do not exist or are in a state of disrepair. UNESCO also continues to carry out workshops and refresher courses for headmasters and teachers in Somalia, and has carried out a mine-awareness campaign for 30,000 Somali refugees in camps in Kenya. To date, more than 500,000 Somalis have received basic education and training through UNESCO programmes. Since 1993, UNICEF has helped to form school committees in 115 communities, provided material and rehabilitation assistance to around 450 schools, including community-based Koranic schools and undertaken activities that have benefited over 150,000 pupils in Somalia.

34. In the light of these developments, the humanitarian assistance programme in Somalia has shifted its focus towards a consolidation of its achievements. The challenge for the United Nations and its humanitarian partners is to sustain this progress in Somalia's conflict-ridden environment and, concomitantly, to move forward to rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction, without prejudice to emergency relief where this is necessary.

35. To meet this challenge in a post-UNOSOM II era, a United Nations Coordination Team (UNCT) was established under the chairmanship of the UNDP Resident Representative, who is also the Humanitarian Coordinator. With the assurances provided by the donor consortium for Somalia, i.e. the Somalia Aid Coordination Body, that it will maintain support to humanitarian programmes in Somalia, UNCT is, among other things, interacting with national and international NGOs as well as with the donor community in an effort to harmonize and ensure coherence among the activities of operational partners. The Humanitarian Coordinator also intends to formalize a coordinated relationship with recognized district and regional councils to ensure that the task of rebuilding Somalia also lies in the hands of dedicated and capable Somalis.

36. The United Nations agencies and organizations will monitor and report on the humanitarian situation in Somalia through the continued presence of national and international humanitarian staff working throughout

the country. To improve the coordination of activities and programmes of the humanitarian partners, the active linkages established by UNCT with the donor and NGO communities will be intensified at the field level to maximize the use of available resources among the humanitarian partners.

37. The humanitarian agencies expect that for the foreseeable future they will continue to operate in a context of political unrest and against a background of uncertainty. Their commitment to remain in Somalia depends on the demonstration of good will and cooperation by the Somali people and leaders. Without the active support of the Somali people, it is unlikely that future humanitarian programmes will meet with much success, and more than likely that the gains, made through the combined efforts of international agencies and committed Somali partners, will be undone.

38. In the absence of national institutions capable of coping even with minor emergencies, Somalia will remain vulnerable to future disasters. Humanitarian relief needs will almost certainly continue for a while, requiring targeted interventions on the part of the humanitarian agencies so as to ensure that the country does not revert to another crisis. To this end, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat launched a United Nations consolidated inter-agency appeal for Somalia, covering a period of six months beginning in January 1995. The agencies requested a total of US$ 70 million for their activities during the first half of 1995. Most of the activities will be community-based and will thus rely fully on the involvement of the Somali people. United Nations agencies will provide support to capacity-building programmes, while assisting local NGOs as well as community-based organizations in the areas of relief and initial rehabilitation. The focus will encompass assistance in the areas of agriculture, fishing and reconstruction. At present, UNDP continues with the implementation of integrated, community-based rehabilitation that includes schools and water systems. It has also launched credit schemes for women, as well as activities aimed at income generation. The ongoing implementation by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) of quick impact programmes is providing the stability required for the return in 1995 of some of the over 500,000 Somalis who remain refugees. Its renovation and rehabilitation of essential facilities complements the activities of IOM with internally displaced persons.

39. One of the critical issues for Somalia will be the need to provide jobs for the large numbers of unemployed and thus to contribute to the revitalization of the economy and stimulate the productive capacities of communities devastated by war. The United Nations agencies have factored this consideration into their planning for 1995. Another critical issue for the humanitarian agencies and for the Somali people is that of demobilization. In 1994, around 25,000 demobilized militia were assisted by UNDP and other United Nations agencies. The success of the demobilization programmes planned by the agencies in 1995, through the provision of skills training and food-for-work incentives, will have far-reaching effects for the peace and reconciliation process and for the stability of the country.

40. It is essential that the progress made by the United Nations agencies, international organizations and national and international NGOs over the past three years should not be reversed. To date the United Nations appeal for Somalia has received less than 10 per cent of the resources requested. I urge the international donor community to provide funding for the activities planned by United Nations agencies and other relief organizations. Such funding is urgently needed not only for the achievement of these objectives, but also to ensure that Somalis are in a position to rebuild their society and break the cycle of despair.

C. DEPLOYMENT OF MILITARY PERSONNEL

41. Following the introduction in mid-1992 of 50 unarmed military observers and 500 security personnel, the United Nations deployed up to 30,000 military and

logistic personnel after the withdrawal of the Unified Task Force in Somalia (UNITAF) in early May 1993. In addition to the mandate approved by the Security Council for the establishment of a secure environment in which humanitarian assistance could be delivered and distributed safely, the UNOSOM forces undertook activities ranging from providing security escorts for humanitarian convoys to conducting specialized courses for the Somali police. They also assisted in the implementation of community development projects and in the provision of medical aid to Somali civilians.

D. POLICE PROGRAMME

42. It will be recalled that UNOSOM II was mandated to assist Somalis in the re-establishment of a 10,000-strong Somali police force by the end of 1994. However, financial constraints made it necessary to reduce the contemplated force strength to 8,500. As of 1 March 1995, this number was operational in Somalia, 2,000 of them being deployed in the north-west region.

43. The police training programme was actively pursued and, by the end of 1994, a total of 2,179 policemen of all ranks had attended refresher courses to revitalize lost or waned police skills resulting from years of absence from work as a result of the collapse of the Somali State machinery four years ago.

44. At the end of January 1995, Somali police were operational in 82 district stations. The police officers had a visible presence on the roads and in various communities. They engaged in foot or mobile patrols and other forms of static and fixed-point duties, receiving complaints from the public and conducting investigations into criminal cases. Under the programme, vehicles, communication equipment, typewriters, stationery, fuel and lubricants were supplied to the police to assist them in the discharge of their duties. Substantial quantities of police uniforms were also received from donors. Following the commencement of the withdrawal of UNOSOM II, vehicles and military equipment in stock from supplies provided by the donor community were shipped out of Somalia at the request of donor Governments.

45. The police programme administered by UNOSOM II was funded from voluntary contributions in cash and in kind by the donor community. International support for the programme, which included payment of salaries for the Somali police, will cease on 31 March 1995 with the expiry of the UNOSOM II mandate and the exhaustion of resources in the Trust Fund established for this purpose. Unless resources are made available to continue the programme beyond that date, the whole police programme will be jeopardized and security conditions in a number of areas might deteriorate. I appeal to the donor community for additional voluntary contributions for the Somali police programme that could be channelled through appropriate agencies operating in Somalia.

E. JUSTICE PROGRAMME

46. During the reporting period, training was provided by UNOSOM II for judicial personnel in judicial administration and ethics, juvenile justice, sentencing practices and attitudes, human rights and the rule of law. Currently, there are 11 appeal courts, 11 regional courts and 46 district courts functioning in all regions and 46 districts of Somalia, with a total staff of 374. All of these courts have been supported by UNOSOM II, including through the repair/refurbishment of some of the court and prison facilities. In addition, some vehicles were supplied.

47. UNOSOM II also provided support to 12 prisons, including food, water and medical services for inmates. Six hundred and seventy two custodial guards were certified and paid by UNOSOM II. WFP supplied dry rations and vegetable oil to the prisons.

48. Arrangements have been concluded with UNESCO to begin educational and vocational training programmes at the prisons, starting with Mogadishu Central Prison. UNESCO also expressed interest in

taking over and continuing these components of the project after the departure of UNOSOM II.

F. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

49. The total cost of UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II (1 May 1992–28 February 1995) was approximately US$ 1.64 billion. Contributions received for the Trust Fund for Somalia as of 10 March 1995 amounted to $21.6 million, consisting of $21.5 million for the re-establishment of the Somali police force and judicial system and $0.1 million for the support of UNOSOM II forces. Expenditures from the Fund for the re-establishment of the Somali police force and judicial system were authorized in the amount of $15.2 million.

50. The General Assembly, by its resolution 49/229 of 23 December 1994, provided an amount of $253,704,400 gross ($250,495,600 net) for the maintenance of UNOSOM II for the period from 1 October 1994 to 28 February 1995. The revised cost estimate for the final mandate period from 1 October 1994 to 31 March 1995 will be submitted to the resumed forty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

51. It should be noted that the cash-flow situation of the special account of UNOSOM II remains precarious. As of 10 March 1995, unpaid assessed contributions to the account since the inception of the Operation totalled $387.2 million ($15.0 for UNOSOM and $372.2 for UNOSOM II). Consequently, reimbursement of troop costs has been made only up to the period ending 30 September 1994. In addition, amounts are outstanding for contingent-owned equipment. The total unpaid contributions to all peace-keeping operations as at 10 March 1995 totalled $1,679 million.

IV. WITHDRAWAL OF UNOSOM II

52. The initial phase of withdrawal of UNOSOM II forces, following the Security Council's decision to that effect, entailed redeploying troops to Mogadishu from Baidoa, Baledogle, Afgoye and Kismayo. The pull-back from Kismayo was supported by an Indian naval task force, comprising two frigates, one logistic ship and six helicopters. Between 28 December 1994 and 5 January 1995, the Zimbabwean and Malaysian contingents were repatriated. The personnel of the Pakistani hospital was repatriated on 11 January 1995. Force headquarters staff was reduced by 50 per cent by 15 January 1995 and relocated from the Embassy Compound to the airport.

53. By 2 February 1995, with the repatriation of the Indian, Zimbabwean and Malaysian contingents, some force headquarters personnel and those of the Pakistani hospital, UNOSOM II troop strength was reduced to 7,956, comprising Pakistani, Egyptian and Bangladeshi contingents and the remaining force headquarters personnel. As the withdrawal accelerated, military support provided by UNOSOM troops to United Nations agencies, human rights organizations and NGOs still engaged in humanitarian activities was greatly reduced. With the major reductions starting in mid-February, it was no longer possible for UNOSOM II troops to extend the necessary protection to humanitarian agencies within the city of Mogadishu. Accordingly, agencies were advised to evacuate their international staff to Nairobi by 14 February 1995.

54. The Humanitarian and Southern Compounds were vacated on 30 January 1995, leaving one platoon of the Pakistani Brigade to secure those buildings in the Southern Compound that were required for the tactical defence of the airport. The UNOSOM II administration moved ahead of schedule in vacating the University and Embassy Compounds and completed the task by 31 January 1995. Consequently, the Pakistani Brigade and all troops located in the area were relocated to the airport on 2 February 1995. Thereafter, all troops were concentrated in the airport, new seaport complex and the old seaport area.

55. From 8 to 10 February, Mr. Kofi Annan, Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, went to Somalia to review preparations for the complex final phase of the operation, in which a combined task force, commanded by Lt. General Anthony C. Zinni (United

States of America) and composed of forces from France, India, Italy, Malaysia, Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the United States, was to assist the withdrawal. Mr. Annan met with my Special Representative, the Force Commander and civilian and military personnel from UNOSOM II, representatives of the United Nations humanitarian agencies and the NGOs and the Commander of the combined task force. He also examined possible arrangements for the continued United Nations presence in Somalia.

56. The withdrawal of UNOSOM II proceeded with minimal interruption. Under the plans elaborated by UNOSOM II in consultation with the combined task force, it was decided that the withdrawal would be completed by 6 March 1995, three weeks ahead of the time-limit set by the Security Council.

57. The final phase of the troop withdrawal started with the repatriation of approximately 1,750 Pakistani personnel from 12 to 15 February. This was followed by the repatriation of the Egyptian brigade, comprising 1,160 personnel, from 17 to 20 February. From 23 to 27 February, an additional 2,600 personnel from the Pakistani contingent and force headquarters staff were repatriated, leaving a balance of approximately 2,500 Pakistani and Bangladeshi military personnel, which constituted the UNOSOM II rearguard.

58. The Mogadishu seaport was handed over to the combined task force and closed to commercial traffic on 28 February. My Special Representative and his staff, as well as the Force Commander and the last remaining staff of the force headquarters, left Mogadishu by air on 28 February 1995. The withdrawal of the rearguard of UNOSOM II commenced on 27 February 1995 and was successfully completed on 2 March 1995. The combined task force forces that had landed in Mogadishu on 28 February 1995 to cover the withdrawal of UNOSOM II also departed from Mogadishu on 3 March without any casualty, thereby bringing operation "United Shield" to a successful conclusion.

59. The withdrawal of all international staff from Somalia was completed on 28 February 1995 with the exception of 25 United Nations civilian personnel and 11 contractual logistic staff plus 1 shipping representative. This group supervised the shipment of the last consignments of UNOSOM II assets committed to the mission's rearguard. They were removed from Mogadishu with the UNOSOM II military rearguard on 3 March 1995. In addition to contingent-owned equipment, over 156,000 cubic metres of United Nations-owned and United Nations-leased assets valued at about US$ 120 million were shipped out of Somalia by sea and air during the last two months of UNOSOM II's presence. The UNOSOM II offices have been temporarily relocated to Nairobi. Force headquarters closed its operations in Nairobi on 8 March 1995. The withdrawal from Somalia was thus successfully completed well ahead of schedule in an orderly and organized manner, with all the soldiers and international staff of UNOSOM II, as well as the troops of the combined task force, able to leave Somalia safely.

60. Equipment worth US$ 235,761, which was vital for the support of local communities, was donated to Somali district councils. United Nations agencies operating in Somalia requested that some of UNOSOM II's residual assets be transferred to them, in order to facilitate the continuation of their humanitarian assistance and development projects after the withdrawal of UNOSOM II. Arrangements were made to sell some of these assets to them at depreciated cost.

61. Special arrangements were also made for the custody of UNOSOM II's communications equipment (estimated value US$ 500,000), which was moved to Nairobi. As soon as conditions allow the return of the United Nations political and agency offices to Mogadishu, the communications equipment will be brought back to Somalia to serve the needs of these offices.

V. OBSERVATIONS

62. The present report marks a point of transition in the efforts of the United Nations to succour a people and a country caught in the throes of famine, civil war and the collapse of all institutions of government. It has been a difficult mission that did not attain all the objectives that the Security Council set for it. Nevertheless, as the preceding sections of the present report have shown, the United Nations Operation in Somalia can claim major accomplishments, especially when one recalls that in late 1992 3,000 men, women and children were dying daily of starvation and this tragedy was ended by the international relief effort. As far as national reconciliation is concerned, the international community, through the efforts of UNITAF and UNOSOM I and II, strove to create an environment conducive for the Somali leaders to achieve this goal. The most the international community could do for the Somali parties was to afford every opportunity for them to agree among themselves on the modalities to re-establish their political and administrative structures based on a broad-based reconciliation, leading to the reconstruction of their country. If the political will to achieve a durable compromise was lacking, the responsibility lies with the Somali leadership.

63. Against this background, the Security Council took the decision under resolution 954 (1994) to withdraw UNOSOM II from Somalia by the end of March 1995. The Council had been prepared to pursue its peace-keeping efforts as long as it felt that the United Nations presence was receiving the cooperation of the Somali factions, thus enabling it to make a significant contribution. However, over the last few months, it was concluded that the United Nations presence in Somalia was no longer promoting national reconciliation. There was no clear evidence of political will on the part of the warring parties to negotiate a mutually acceptable solution. Agreements reached under United Nations auspices unravelled and security continued to deteriorate, especially in Mogadishu. United Nations peace-keepers and humanitarian convoys were threatened and, in a number of instances, viciously attacked. The Somali leaders did not heed repeated warnings, including from the Council's own special mission in October 1994, that if they did not show a minimum of political will the United Nations presence would have to be reconsidered. In these circumstances, continuation of UNOSOM II could no longer be justified.

64. The experience of UNOSOM II has thus confirmed the validity of the point that the Security Council has consistently stressed in its resolutions on Somalia, namely that the responsibility for political compromise and national reconciliation must be borne by the leaders and people concerned. It is they who bear the main responsibility for creating the political and security conditions in which peacemaking and peace-keeping can be effective. The international community can only facilitate, prod, encourage and assist. It can neither impose peace nor coerce unwilling parties into accepting it.

65. There are also important lessons to be learned about the theory and practice of multifunctional peace-keeping operations in conditions of civil war and chaos and especially about the clear line that needs to be drawn between peace-keeping and enforcement action. The world has changed and so has the nature of the conflict situations which the United Nations is asked to deal with. There is a need for careful and creative rethinking about peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building in the context of the Somali operation. Some of my initial conclusions may be found in my recent position paper, the "Supplement to an Agenda for Peace" (S/1995/1).

66. On numerous occasions, I have stated that the withdrawal of UNOSOM II does not mean that the United Nations is abandoning Somalia. The United Nations agencies and organizations, as well as NGOs, have voiced their determination to continue humanitarian operations in Somalia. In 1994, they worked at introducing primary rehabilitation as the protective measure for sustaining the success achieved in the emergency relief phase. Their focus in the

post–UNOSOM II era will be on rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction, without prejudice to emergency relief where that is necessary. The fulfilment of this objective will also, however, depend primarily on the willingness of the Somali people to cooperate effectively and reliably with the agencies and NGOs. In view of the current security situation, all their international staff left Mogadishu on 14 February for other parts of Somalia and Nairobi. As of 20 March 1995, 30 international staff continue to operate in the country. As soon as the security situation permits, the international staff will return to Mogadishu where the agencies have retained skeleton offices run by Somali staff. Elsewhere in the present report, I have referred to the critical funding needs for the activities planned by United Nations agencies and for the police and justice programmes.

67. The experience of UNOSOM II has demonstrated the vital link between humanitarian assistance, which is geared towards the immediate amelioration of emergency situations, and assistance in achieving national reconciliation, which is necessary to ensure stability in the long term so that the positive results of humanitarian assistance can be preserved and a recurrence of the tragedy avoided. The two must go together; one cannot be a substitute for the other. With this in mind, I will continue to make available my good offices to assist the Somali factions to arrive at a political settlement and I will maintain a political presence in the area for this purpose. The size and mandate of that presence will depend on whether the Somali factions want the United Nations to play a facilitating or mediating role and are ready to cooperate with it. Its location should be in Mogadishu but this will depend, initially at any rate, on security considerations. It was because of the lack of security in Mogadishu that I directed my Special Representative to move temporarily to Nairobi at the end of February; but it remains my intention to re-establish a United Nations political presence in Mogadishu as soon as practicable.

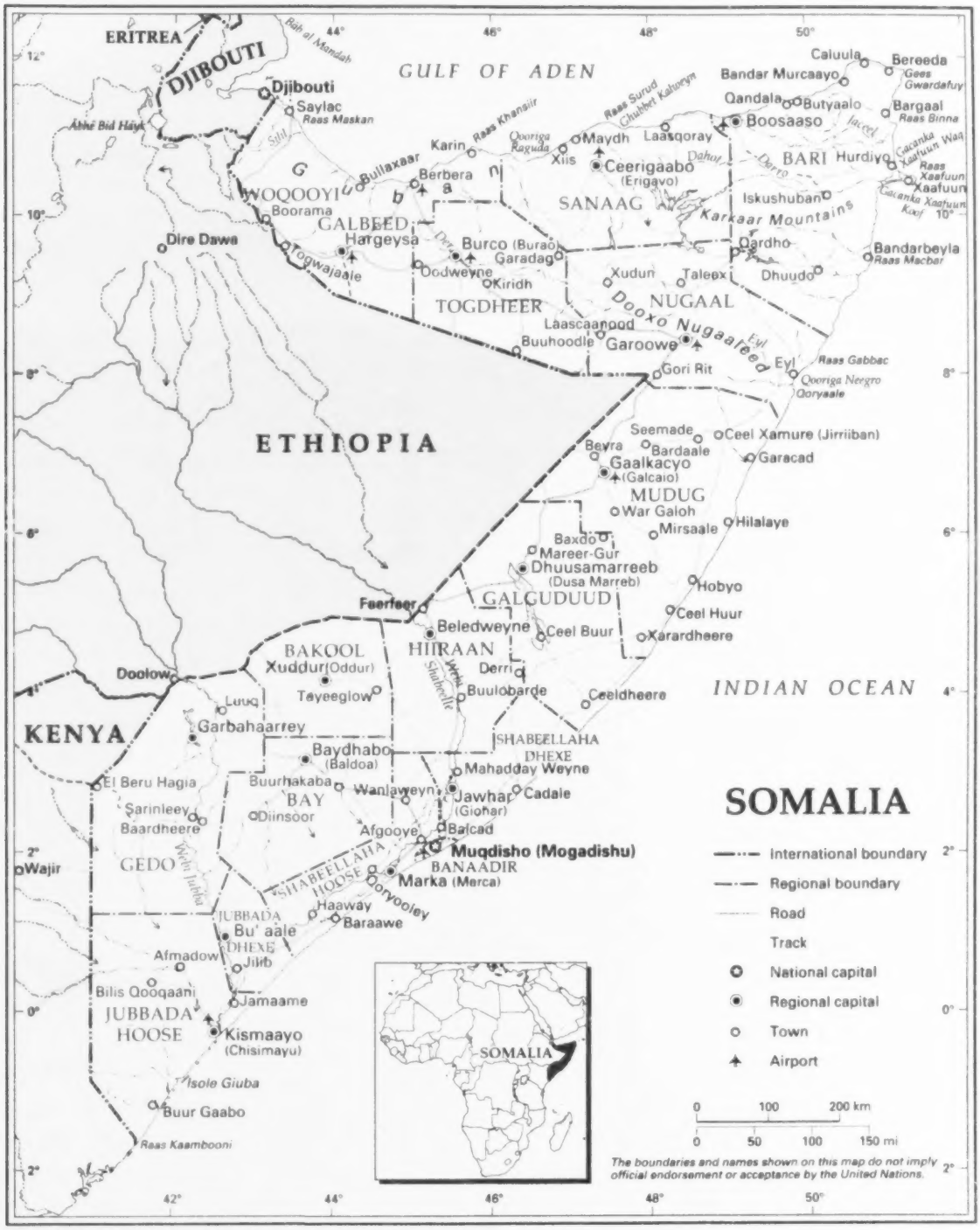
68. For the time being, I have instructed my Special Representative to remain in Nairobi, pending further instructions, in order to monitor the situation in Somalia and coordinate United Nations humanitarian activities there. I expect to be in a position to take decisions about the level and mandate of the United Nations political presence in Mogadishu by mid–April 1995, at which time I shall report my intentions to the Security Council. My present inclination is to maintain a small political office there consisting of a representative with a small support staff.

69. During the past few weeks, there have been some signs that the withdrawal of UNOSOM II may have triggered among Somali leaders an enhanced awareness of their responsibilities. If some Somali leaders perceived the presence of a large number of peacekeeping troops as a hindrance, this has now been removed, possibly encouraging them to restart a political process in their country. I am encouraged by the fact that the withdrawal of UNOSOM II has coincided with the signing of agreements that have so far helped to avert fighting over the sea and airports in Mogadishu and allowed the reopening of the Mogadishu seaport. During the last four weeks, Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Aidid concluded four political agreements which the SNA and the SSA are implementing in a joint effort. It is the first time since the Nairobi declaration of March 1994 that the two leaders have put their signatures to any peace agreement. These indications of a possible *rapprochement* between them may justify the hope that the Somali leaders will find the strength and the courage to pursue a more productive peace process in the coming weeks. While the recent history of Somalia suggests that such signs must be examined with caution, they could develop into an encouraging trend.

70. Elsewhere in the present report, I have given an account of the successful withdrawal of UNOSOM II with the generous support of the combined task force's "United Shield" operation. This was a complex exercise that required a sophisticated planning effort. It was implemented in a skilful and coordi-

nated manner. I wish once again to express my gratitude to the Member States that joined together to support the United Nations in this way. It was an inspiring instance of international cooperation and mutual assistance.

71. In conclusion, I should like to record my appreciation to my Special Representative, Ambassador James Victor Gbeho, and the UNOSOM II Force Commander, General Aboo Samah Bin Aboo Bakar, as well as to their predecessors, all of whom have demonstrated high qualities of leadership in difficult circumstances. My gratitude also goes to all the UNOSOM II civilian staff, international and Somali, and to the soldiers of all ranks from many countries who devoted themselves to translating into reality the commitments of the United Nations to the people of Somalia. This expression of appreciation applies equally to the personnel of the combined task force. Above all, I wish to pay a profound tribute to the UNOSOM II military and civilian staff, to the officials of United Nations agencies and programmes and to the staff of NGOs who made the supreme sacrifice to help Somalia in its hour of need. Finally, I should like to express my deep sympathy to the families of those who lost their lives as a result of the tragedies that befell Somalia over the past few years.



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